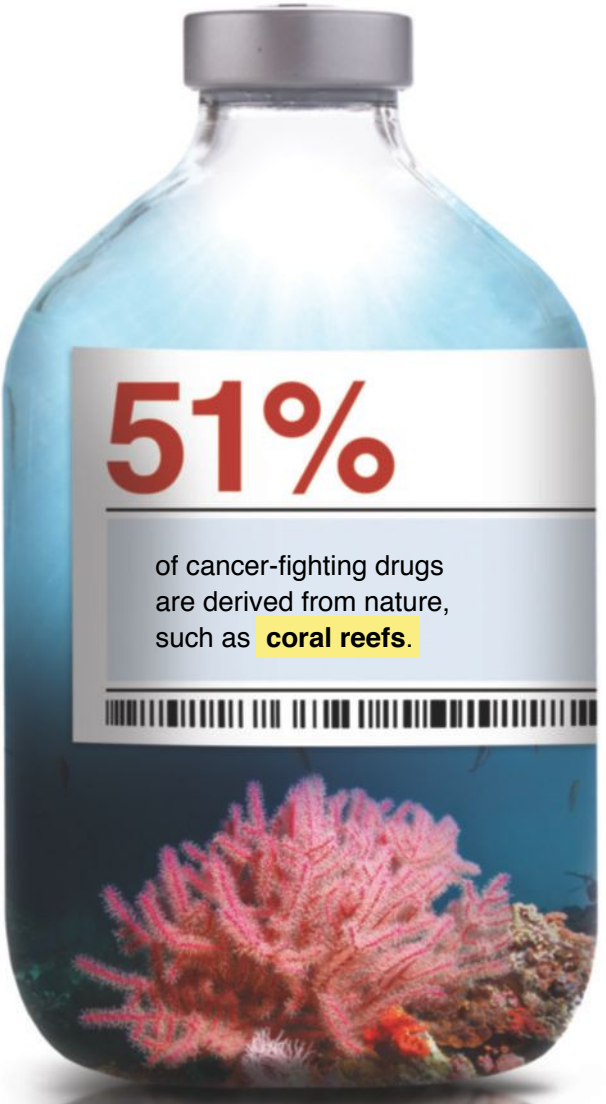
OCTOBER 31, 2016

TIME

Gretchen Carlson wants to change the way women fight **sexual harassment**

By Belinda Luscombe

NATURE
SAVES LIVES



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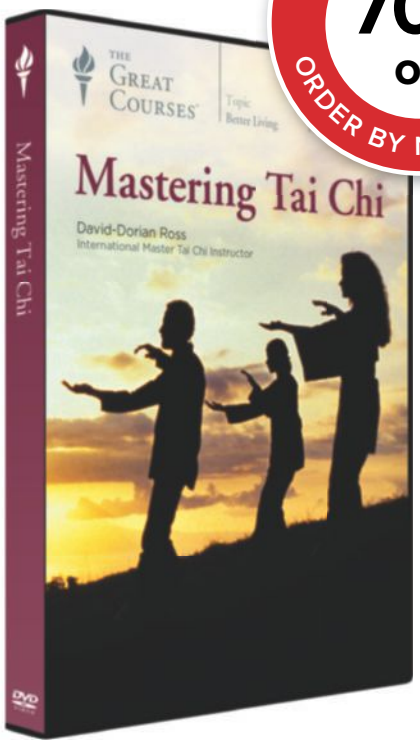

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Photograph by Narciso Contreras for Fondation Carmignac

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TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for two combined issues in January and one combined issue in February, April, July, August, September and November by Time Inc. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** send address corrections to TIME Magazine, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Postal Station A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3G9. GST No. 888381621RT0001. © 2016 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. U.S. Subscriptions: $49 for one year. **SUBSCRIBERS:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, visit ***time.com/customerservice.*** You can also call 1-800-843-TIME; write to TIME, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL, 33662-2120; or email ***privacy@time.customersvc.com.*** **MAILING LIST:** We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call or write us. **PRINTED IN THE U.S.** ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

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8:59 a.m. The aroma of charcoal-grilled toast fills the air

2:32 p.m. Vintage designs dot quaint 5-foot ways

6:08 p.m. An artiste prepares for opening night

9:30 p.m. Vivid colours illuminate the waterfront

11:46 p.m. Local delights are served under the city lights

LOS ANGELES		NARITA				SINGAPORE	
SQ11			SQ11				
DEP: 10:00		ARR: 13:45+1	DEP: 14:55+1			ARR: 21:40+1	
LOS ANGELES		INCHEON				SINGAPORE	
SQ7 NEW			SQ7				
DEP: 17:05		ARR: 22:35+1	DEP: 00:25+2			ARR: 06:00+2	

SINGAPORE		NARITA				LOS ANGELES	
SQ12			SQ12				
DEP: 09:20		ARR: 17:05	DEP: 18:50			ARR: 12:50	
SINGAPORE		INCHEON				LOS ANGELES	
SQ8 NEW			SQ7				
DEP: 02:45		ARR: 10:05	DEP: 12:00			ARR: 07:15	

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A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER

What you said about ...

TRUMP'S TOTAL MELTDOWN "What is [Donald Trump's] long-term play?" asked Joe Scarborough in a discussion on MSNBC of Alex Altman and Michael Scherer's Oct. 24 cover story about the Republican candidate's chaotic campaign. Although the answer remains unclear, Roberto Chavez of Arvada, Colo., "fully appreciated the candid, incisive and thorough analysis of Trump's unparalleled state of affairs." He, like many others, praised the cover illustration, an update of an August cover by Edel Rodriguez. On Twitter, Geno Carter noted that he "had to check" that the cover was real when he saw it. "Yes this is the new updated @TIME cover," he wrote. "Bravo." But some readers, like John Wilding of Hermann, Mo., found the focus on Trump unfair. "Are you going to run two covers of Hillary Clinton's meltdowns?"

> 'One of the all-time best covers ever. Will outlast us all, including @realDonald Trump.'
>
> **SUSAN WIGGS**, on Twitter

> 'This issue is so jam-packed with excellent articles, I could write volumes to you.'
>
> **VALERIE TORPHY**, Shelton, Conn.

THE ISSUES Bob Buchanan of Fredericksburg, Va., called our package of articles on the issues at stake in the election "required reading" and praised it for presenting so many "pressing" topics "clearly and factually." But some wanted to see an even deeper dive into the issues. For example, David Shepard of Camarillo, Calif., wrote that Haley Sweetland Edwards' piece about drug prices missed an "important way to lower drug prices" by not addressing the effects of advertising on the market for medications.

VR GEAR GUIDE TIME's latest buyer's guide assesses which virtual-reality headsets offer the most bang for the buck. Here's a preview of the top two. See the full list at **time.com/vr-guide**

1. SAMSUNG GEAR VR The $99.99 top pick has a few limitations—for example, it doesn't track movement the way some competitors do—but our reviewer found it the most practical.

2. PLAYSTATION VR At $399.99, the runner-up is pricier, but great for gamers who already own a PlayStation console.

SPACE JAMS LIFE VR, Time Inc.'s virtual-reality initiative, and tech startup 8i are sharing "Message to Mars"—recordings of Buzz Aldrin *(right)* and musician Reggie Watts that will also be used to study whether VR can mitigate the effects of isolation on astronauts. Learn more at **time.com/mars-vr**

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EXCLUSIVE EXCERPT *Twilight* author Stephenie Meyer's *The Chemist* is a new thriller for adults about a former secret agent who gets reeled in for one last mission. Preview it at **time.com/chemist-excerpt**

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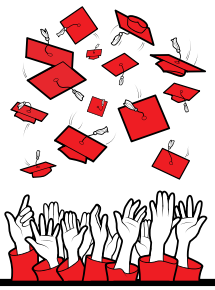
‘We will absolutely accept the result of the election.’

MIKE PENCE, Republican nominee for Vice President, responding to questions about claims by his running mate, Donald Trump, that the elections will be “rigged”

83.2%

Percentage of high school students who graduated on time in the 2014–15 school year, setting a new record for the fifth year in a row, according to federal data



Galaxies
Scientists announced there are 10 times as many of them as previously thought

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Galaxy Note7s
The FAA made it illegal to carry the Samsung phone on airplanes

‘IT FELT LIKE IT WAS THE DAY THAT I BORN HER INTO THIS WORLD.’

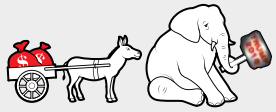
RUTH MARKUS, describing her reunion with her daughter Saratu, one of 21 Nigerian girls freed by Boko Haram after negotiations with the Nigerian and Swiss governments; the terrorist group seized over 200 schoolgirls on April 14, 2014

$340 billion

Annual losses to the U.S. economy from medical treatment and lost productivity resulting from conditions linked to common chemicals such as those in cosmetics, plastics and sofas, according to research published in *The Lancet*

‘They were running around like rats, in and out of tunnels, and surprising us with suicide attacks and snipers.’

MEHSEN GARDI, Kurdish militia lieutenant, describing Islamic State fighters at the start of the battle to retake the Iraqi city of Mosul and its surrounding villages after two years of ISIS occupation; U.S. Secretary of Defense Ash Carter called the offensive a “decisive moment” in defeating the group



$13,007

Amount of **money crowdfunded by Democrats** via GoFundMe as of Oct. 18 to reopen the firebombed Orange County Republican Party office in Hillsborough, N.C.

‘THE TRUTH IS THAT IT HURTS.’

MICHELLE OBAMA, First Lady of the United States, condemning remarks made by Trump in a leaked video of him boasting in 2005 that as a “star” he could get away with doing “anything” to women

‘While we obviously cannot change the past, it is clear that we must change the future.’

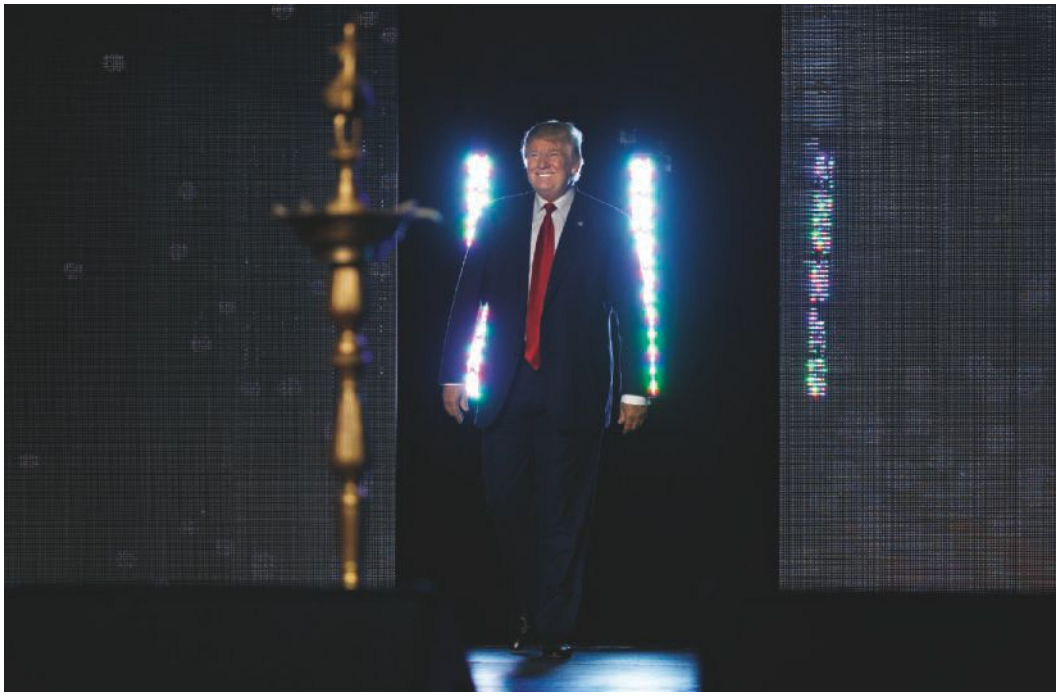
TERRENCE CUNNINGHAM, president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, one of America’s most influential police organizations, apologizing for what Cunningham called “the role that our profession has played in society’s historical mistreatment of communities of color,” at the group’s convention on Oct. 17

SOURCES: NBC; NEW YORK TIMES; THE TELEGRAPH

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'HILLARY CLINTON TENDS NOT TO HEM AND HAW AS MUCH AS HER HUSBAND.' —PAGE 14



Trump arrives to speak to the Republican Hindu Coalition on Oct. 15 in Edison, N.J.

AP

PHOTOGRAPH BY EVAN VUCCI

CAMPAIGN 2016

How Trump plans to win—even if he loses the election

By Zeke J. Miller

DONALD TRUMP HAS A PLAN TO WIN even if he loses, which is looking more likely by the day. You can hear him lay out the strategy every time he climbs a stage in these final weeks of the campaign. At a brisk October outdoor rally in a parking lot behind a Toyota dealership in New Hampshire, he hammered home the message that has formed the heart of his campaign in recent weeks. "The election is being rigged," the Republican nominee declared.

Just two days earlier in West Palm Peach, Fla., Trump even offered a unified field theory of the situation, proclaiming a vast plot against him, overseen by a group of faceless global elites, named media organizations, bankers, elements of the federal government and even his own party's leadership. He has encouraged supporters to "watch" the polls in predominantly minority neighborhoods. "This is a conspiracy against you, the American people," he told his supporters.

As the polls now stand, it appears there are not enough of those supporters to defeat Hillary Clinton on Election Day. National surveys show Trump with less than 40% of the vote nationally in a four-way race, with key swing states like Colorado, Virginia, Florida, Pennsylvania and North Carolina all trending toward Clinton. Rather than overhaul his message to expand his appeal, as many have advised, Trump has concentrated on building a sense of grievance among the voters he does have. Republican party veterans have watched in amazement.

"He seems to be trying to point fingers at other people to explain how he loses," says veteran Republican pollster and strategist Ed Goeas. Facing an up-or-down outcome at the ballot box, the candidate who built his brand on "winning" is looking for a third door.

"When you have someone as narcissistic and egomaniacal as Trump, he will simply refuse to believe what he did was wrong, despite the overwhelming evidence," said former Ted Cruz strategist Chris Wilson. "So, in his mind, the election has to be rigged. If he can't win then it has to be fixed. Unfortunately, the truth is, he has run perhaps the worst general election campaign in the history of American politics."

Trump's chosen path has also forced other Republicans to make clear that they will not follow him down the no-surrender rabbit hole. "Our democracy relies on confidence in election results, and the Speaker is fully confident the states will carry out this election with integrity," said AshLee Strong, a spokeswoman for House Speaker Paul Ryan. Trump's own running mate, Indiana Governor Mike Pence, seemed uncomfortable with the rhetoric, saying Trump had meant to criticize media bias only and not the underpinnings of American democracy. "We will absolutely accept the result of the election," Pence said on NBC's *Meet the Press*. Trump was already correcting him. "The election is absolutely being rigged by the dishonest and distorted media pushing Crooked Hillary," Trump tweeted Sunday, "but also at many polling places—SAD."

In past failures, Trump has often found a way to come out ahead. In legal depositions, Trump boasted about making money even as creditors lost fortunes. He has spun his four corporate bankruptcies as demonstrating how he "used, brilliantly, the laws of the country." He has defended a tax write-down of nearly $1 billion in losses as a sign he fully exploited the tax code. Even his failed marriages are recast as opportunities to flaunt his self-serving prenuptial agreements.

But Trump's response makes sense if his campaign endgame is really just a new business model. Advised by former Fox News boss Roger Ailes and Breitbart executive chairman Stephen Bannon, Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner has held conversations about starting a Trump media entity after the campaign, according to two people familiar with the preliminary talks. Some senior Republicans believe Trump's next endeavor will be less about money than about score settling. Most failed presidential candidates yield the spotlight to the victor, but Trump has toyed with launching a PAC to exact revenge on disloyal Republicans.

And with a grip on a substantial bloc of the GOP base, Trump could wield his new megaphone to shape the direction of the party for years to come. ◻

TICKER

Feds to study use of force by police

The U.S. Justice Department plans to start collecting data on how often police use force and how often those interactions turn out to be deadly. The FBI will launch a pilot program in early 2017 to gather the figures.

Yemen to begin 72-hour cease-fire

The U.N. special envoy for Yemen announced a 72-hour cease-fire between the Yemeni government and Houthi rebels, effective 11:59 p.m. on Oct. 19. More than 4,000 civilians have been killed and 3 million driven from their homes since the conflict began in 2014.

Social Security benefits tick up

More than 65 million Americans who receive Social Security will see an incremental increase in their monthly benefits starting in 2017. The 0.3% raise, meant to help offset inflation, equates to roughly $4 a month for an average recipient.

U.S. lifts limits on Cuban rum, cigars

President Barack Obama removed restrictions on Cuban rum and cigars, lifting the $100 limit on the value of the items that Americans can bring home from Cuba. The Treasury Department said the changes will help "unlock greater economic opportunity for Cubans and Americans."

IRAQ

The fighters in the battle for Mosul

The long-awaited attack on the ISIS-held city of Mosul brings together a motley coalition of Iraqi military forces numbering roughly 80,000. The attack force reflects both Iraq's diversity and its divisions. Here's a rundown of the major players. —*Jared Malsin/Erbil*

IRAQ'S ARMY
The country's military is fighting to undo the disastrous legacy of losing the Sunni-majority city to ISIS in June 2014. The troops are pushing toward Mosul from the south and will lead the assault on the city center.

PESHMERGA
Kurdish militias known collectively as the *peshmerga,* or "those who face death," took a series of villages from ISIS on Oct. 17. Mosul is adjacent to the area controlled by the Kurdish regional government.

SHI'ITE FIGHTERS
Powerful militias dominated by Shi'ites, known as the Popular Mobilization Units, are fighting but not expected to enter the city center because of past allegations of abuses against Sunni Iraqis.

U.S.-LED FORCES
The international military coalition provides air support, artillery fire and special-operations forces on the ground. There are now more than 5,000 U.S. troops on the ground in Iraq, the most since 2009.

DIGITS

210 tons

Estimated weight of a giant jade stone uncovered by miners in Burma. The gemstone, which is 14 ft. high and 18 ft. long, is worth roughly $170 million. The jade will be broken down for use in jewelry and sculpture.

SHELTER FROM THE STORM A woman climbs down a ladder to a makeshift home underneath a bridge in Manila on Oct. 16, as Typhoon Sarika struck the Philippines. The storm left at least two people dead after lashing the populous Philippine island of Luzon, where the capital city is situated, and forcing 15,000 to flee their homes. According to the local weather agency, the storm sustained winds of 80 m.p.h. *Photograph by Noel Celis—AFP/Getty Images*

IRAQ: AHMED JALIL—EPA; CAR: PHOTO ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME; JADE: ZAW MOE HTET—EPA; ENVIRONMENT: CYRIL NDEGEYA—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

ENVIRONMENT

New deal on pollutants caps good year for climate action

CLIMATE NEGOTIATORS MEETING IN KIGALI, Rwanda, agreed on Oct. 15 to phase out pollutants known as hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs). The deal represents crucial progress toward meeting the goal of last year's landmark Paris Agreement, which set out international targets to reduce the rate of increase in global temperatures:

BAD GASES HFCs, introduced widely in the 1990s to replace ozone-depleting gases, can be found in household goods such as air conditioners and refrigerators. They are thousands of times more destructive to the climate than carbon dioxide, when compared pound per pound. Scientists had warned HFC use would expand significantly in the coming decades as incomes rise in the developing world.

UNITED FRONT Other climate negotiations have been slowed by the lobbying of energy companies and fast-growing developing countries for concessions. The Kigali talks, however, benefited from businesses eager to bring HFC alternatives to market, and developing countries like Rwanda ready to show leadership.

CLIMATE TRIFECTA Scientists say the Kigali deal could reduce warming by as much as 1°F by 2100, but the accord is just the latest breakthrough in climate diplomacy in recent weeks. The Paris Agreement was swiftly ratified and is set to take effect in November, and negotiators also agreed this month to a landmark deal to cut aviation emissions. Together, the international accords show a new urgency on behalf of the world to act on climate change.

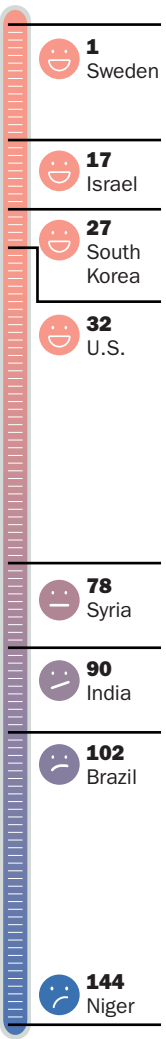
—JUSTIN WORLAND

‹President Paul Kagame of Rwanda, right, with Secretary of State John Kerry, called the deal a "signal that change is coming"

DATA

WHERE IT'S GOOD (AND BAD) TO BE A GIRL

A new ranking by Save the Children used five indicators—education, early marriage, teen pregnancy rate, maternal mortality and political representation—to rank countries by how good they are for girls. Here's a sample of the results:



TICKER

France set to shut Calais 'Jungle'

A French court rejected a request by 11 charities to delay the closure of the illegal migrant settlement in Calais known as the Jungle, to allow more time to rehouse the thousands of people living there. France's Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve said on Oct. 18 that the operation would begin in "a matter of days."

Ecuador cuts off Assange's Internet

Ecuador confirmed that it temporarily cut off Julian Assange's Internet access over fears the WikiLeaks co-founder was interfering in the U.S. election. The group has published a trove of leaked emails relating to Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign.

NBC fires Billy Bush after Trump tape

NBC News fired *Today* show co-host Billy Bush after a 2005 video emerged of him exchanging lewd comments about women with Donald Trump. Bush said the conversation left him "embarrassed and ashamed."

Hitler's birthplace to be demolished

To prevent it from becoming a neo-Nazi shrine, the house in Austria where Adolf Hitler was born is to be demolished. The new building will be used for administrative or charitable purposes.

THE RISK REPORT

Argentina's Mauricio Macri on the challenge of change

By Ian Bremmer

IT'S BEEN NEARLY A YEAR SINCE MAURICIO Macri became President of Argentina, having led a coalition known as Cambiemos (Let's change). This is a country with promise that has long been plagued by a weak economy, a history of default, isolation from international credit markets and contentious, backward-looking populist politics. Argentina has been governed so badly for so long that "change" proved irresistible—and now Macri, whom I had a chance to interview on Oct. 12, has to deliver it.

A successful businessman before becoming mayor of Buenos Aires, Macri has already taken big steps to mend distortions in Argentina's economy. He has lifted onerous capital controls and allowed the central bank to move against inflation. Vitally, he resolved a 15-year dispute with international bondholders, which left Argentina unable to borrow in global markets. He has also brought clarity to Argentina's numbers. Under Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, Macri's predecessor, the state's official statistics bureau claimed that just 5% of Argentines lived below the poverty line. Under Macri, it now says the true figure is more than 30%. The honesty is welcome—and necessary.

Macri believes Argentina has much to offer. "The world needs food security and sustainable energy supplies," he says. "We already produce food for 400 million people, and we expect to double that production in the next five years. In energy production, our potential is enormous: we have the world's second largest shale-gas and fourth largest shale-oil reserves, the third largest wind reserves. We have great solar potential."

Macri is facing pushback. The economy has so far failed to recover at the pace he promised. Growth is weak, unemployment remains high, and his approval ratings have fallen from their initial high level. Union leaders with close ties to the opposition have called for large-scale strikes in hopes of reopening wage negotiations this year, but the government fears that higher wages now would simply push inflation up. The country's largest public-sector unions staged a general strike over government cuts last month, and more walk-offs are likely.

Macri hopes that bitter medicine now will trigger a recovery in time for next year's midterm elections, but he knows Argentina needs more than a return to mild economic growth. To sustain a full recovery, it will need solid commercial relations that extend beyond Latin America. "China will be a key player for Argentina in the next decade, as will Japan, Korea and other Asian countries, in addition to Europe and the United States," he says. Macri also hopes to modernize the country with a focus on new technology. Unlike his predecessors, Macri knows that the digital revolution is a fact of 21st century life—for better or for worse. Better to understand its effects than to hide from the future.

> Macri has raised expectations for a clean break from the recent past

For all its appeal, change is never easy. Macri has raised expectations in Argentina for a clean break from the recent past. He's betting that an end to populist policymaking, broader engagement with the world and investment in digital-age innovation and manufacturing will trigger a recovery soon enough to protect his political mandate. There's no guarantee he'll succeed, but at the very least, Argentina now has a President who understands how this promising country might finally begin to reach its potential. ◻

Macri is part of a wave of center-right leaders in Latin America

Milestones

DIED

Dario Fo, 90, Italian playwright known for works like *Accidental Death of an Anarchist.* He received the 1997 Nobel Prize for Literature.

› **Dennis Byrd,** 50, former NFL defensive lineman, in a car crash. The New York Jets player was known for recovering from a paralyzing neck injury in 1992.

› **Jia Jia,** 38, the world's oldest giant panda to live in captivity.

WON

The 2016 Nobel Prize for Literature, by **Bob Dylan,** for creating "new poetic expressions within the great American song tradition." He is the first musician to win the award.

ELECTED

Portugal's former Prime Minister **António Guterres,** as Secretary-General of the U.N.

Thailand's King Bhumibol Adulyadej, who was the world's longest-reigning monarch, pictured in 2010 just before his 83rd birthday

DIED

Bhumibol Adulyadej
King of Thailand

THAILAND'S KING BHUMIBOL Adulyadej was the superlative monarch. He was the world's longest reigning, the world's richest and, among his own subjects at least, the world's most revered. Up until his death on Oct. 13 at the age of 88, Bhumibol overcame numerous catastrophes through intelligence, fortitude and love of country. "He was a King that was loved and adored by all," said Prayuth Chan-ocha, chief of the Thai military junta.

Yet Bhumibol was never supposed to wear the crown. He became King only after the death of his elder brother King Ananda Mahidol, who was mysteriously found shot in the forehead in Bangkok's Grand Palace on June 9, 1946. Thrust onto the throne the same day, Bhumibol spent the next seven decades in diligent service—touring far-flung villages with a team of doctors, overseeing rural irrigation projects and sponsoring crop substitution among opium-farming hill tribes. He also played saxophone with jazz legends like Duke Ellington, won prizes for sailing, was a keen amateur photographer and painted Expressionist oils.

Bhumibol's crown and fortune—once estimated at $30 billion—now pass to his only son, Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn. However, his heir has a playboy reputation, and many blame anxiety over the succession for spurring the nation's latest coup d'état, on May 22, 2014. Military interventions are all too common in Thailand, though Bhumibol generally gave them his blessing without reducing his own popularity. Thai children are taught from the crib of his godlike infallibility, and no picture in the room was placed higher than his portrait, found in all schools, institutions, businesses and practically every household. Thais can't help but love their King. —CHARLIE CAMPBELL

ART

Monumental offenses

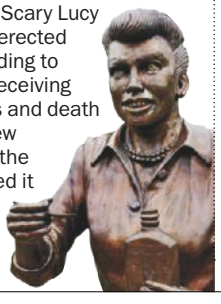
After months of protests and court battles, Russia unveiled on Oct. 14 the country's first monument to Ivan the Terrible, a 16th century tyrant responsible for thousands of murders. Here, three other controversial public sculptures.
—Kate Samuelson

RECLINING FIGURE, New York City

The work of art by acclaimed British sculptor Henry Moore was condemned as an eyesore by students after news of its move to Columbia University broke in March. One described it as "kind of evil." It has not yet been installed.

LUCILLE BALL, Saddle River, N.J.

A statue of Lucille Ball was dubbed Scary Lucy when it was erected in 2009, leading to the artist's receiving angry emails and death threats. A new sculpture of the actor replaced it in August.



POPE JOHN PAUL II, Italy

The 17-ft.-tall bronze sculpture was labeled "a sin" by an art critic in Rome when it was unveiled in the Eternal City in 2011. Locals called it "horrible," and the statue was eventually revised in 2012.

MACRI: ROLEX DELA PENA—GETTY IMAGES; MILESTONES: SUKREE SUKPLANG—REUTERS; MOORE: THE HENRY MOORE FOUNDATION—BRIDGEMAN IMAGES; BALL: THE POST-JOURNAL—AP; JOHN PAUL II: GREGORIO BORGIA—AP

What Hillary Clinton's insiders know that voters don't—yet

By Sam Frizell and Philip Elliott

AS HILLARY CLINTON PREPARED TO LAUNCH HER PRESIDENTIAL campaign early last year, the former Secretary of State wanted her husband, former President Bill Clinton, to keep one last, lucrative speech on his schedule. Her husband's sponsor: the financial giant Morgan Stanley.

The gig, her aides protested, was a terrible idea. Furor over Wall Street's greed was raging in the heartland. Clinton was already facing criticism for taking speaking fees from unpopular clients. "That's begging for a bad rollout," campaign manager Robby Mook said in a message dated March 11, 2015. When the candidate stubbornly stood by her husband, Mook was adamant in a follow-up note that the campaign not begin this way: "It's a very consequential unforced error and could plague us in stories for months."

Clinton relented a day later. But the argument, revealed in early October through emails stolen from Clinton's campaign chairman, was just the beginning of the recurring struggles her team would face with a candidate often determined to go against their advice. The hacked messages—which include thousands of internal campaign missives and the transcripts of Clinton's paid speeches, published online by WikiLeaks—illustrate how her staff worked to guide their boss.

What emerges from the latest round of traffic is a Cubist portrait of a woman who inspired among her aides varying degrees of admiration, empathy and exasperation. She failed to comprehend the public's outrage over her email server, some messages showed. In private comments, she denounced extremists of all stripes and longed for an era of compromise on grand ideas that would make Washington functional again. And yet, between flashes of pique, the messages show a candidate most Americans say they would like to elect: a realist willing to deal independent of ideology.

Along the way, she also made some serious errors. "Her instincts are suboptimal," Neera Tanden, a longtime Clinton friend and contender for a top Administration gig, said in an email to campaign chairman John Podesta, the official whose account was accessed by what U.S. officials believe were Russian state-sponsored hackers.

There were early signs that Clinton did not understand the leftist fervor that had taken hold after her first run for President. In a May 2014 email, Mook raised a red flag when the Clinton Foundation chose the auditorium at Goldman Sachs' headquarters to speak to the charity's top donors. "It's a little troubling," Mook said. Despite the warning, Clinton attended the event as scheduled.

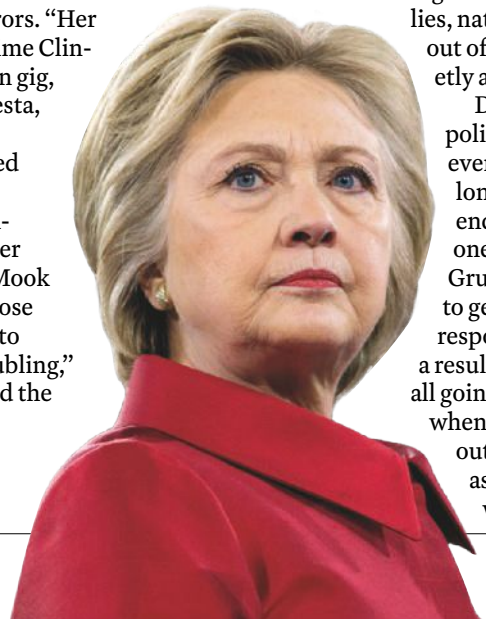
Things wouldn't get easier after she formally entered the race. Americans demanded remorse when they learned in March 2015 that Clinton had been using a private email server during her time at the State Department. Despite her aides' urging, Clinton, who had broken no laws in the Justice Department's verdict, barely gave a mea culpa.

When Clinton dug in and tried to avoid the press, her staff raised concern. Responding to a May 2015 email from Clinton confidante Huma Abedin, Podesta wrote, "If she thinks we can get to Labor Day without taking press questions, I think that's suicidal." But that's what she tried. Clinton's communications director, Jennifer Palmieri, wanted the Democratic nominee to finally have a public relations victory in August 2015 when Clinton handed over her email server to the Justice Department. But, Palmieri wrote of her boss, "it is clear that she is not in the same place." Any television interview could be a dreaded obstacle course: when Clinton finished one grilling heading into Labor Day weekend, Palmieri admitted she "cried a little bit with relief."

> Her aides squabble about the timing of a tweet and who has final say over everything from hashtags to posters

Ten months into the presidential race, her closest aides still didn't seem to know what Clinton wanted for her campaign mantra. "Do we have any sense from her what she believes or wants her core message to be?" wondered Joel Benenson, her pollster and senior adviser, in February 2016. An interminable litany of suggestions for slogans followed as everyone from pollsters to campaign officials weighed in. Emails among Clinton's staff suggest she personally drafted the first pillars of her message, "the Four Fights"—the economy, stronger families, national security and getting money out of politics—but that frame was quietly abandoned in mid-2015.

Despite hiring a Noah's ark of political professionals—two of everything—she still relied on longtime hands who made easy end runs around any newcomers. In one case, advertising guru Mandy Grunwald went straight to Hillary to get a better contract, and Mook responded with annoyance about a resulting compromise: "They're all going to be able to buy nice houses when this is over!" Podesta wrote off outside adviser Sid Blumenthal as someone "lost in his own web of conspiracies," yet his



CLINTON: SAUL LOEB—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; EMAILS: ILLUSTRATIONS BY TIME

The Clinton campaign's email hacks

Before reversing course, Clinton told an audience in 2013 that she supported "open trade" and "open borders," according to a speech transcript

From: Tony Carrk
To: Jennifer Palmieri, John Podesta, Sara Latham, Kristina Schake, Christina Reynolds, Brian Fallon
Sent: Monday, January 25, 2016 12:28 AM
Subject: HRC Paid Speeches

*Hillary Clinton Said Her Dream Is A Hemispheric Common Market, With Open Trade And Open Markets. *"My dream is a hemispheric common market, with open trade and open borders, some time in the future with energy that is as green and sustainable as we can get it, powering growth and opportunity for every person in the hemisphere." [05162013 Remarks to Banco Itau.doc, p. 28]

A Democratic Party official and CNN commentator appeared to give the Clinton campaign a network town-hall question in advance. The official has denied she forwarded the question

From: Donna Brazile
To: Jennifer Palmieri
Sent: Saturday, March 12, 2016 4:39 PM
Subject: From time to time I get the questions in advance

Here's one that worries me about HRC. […] Should Ohio and the 30 other states join the current list and abolish the death penalty?

From: Varun Anand
To: Jennifer Palmieri, Kristina Schake, Dan Schwerin, Megan Rooney, Kristina Costa, Nick Merrill, Christina Rehnolds, Brian Fallon, Huma Abedin, Robby Mook, Tony Carrk, John Podesta
Sent: Wednesday, September 9, 2015 9:09 PM
Subject: 20150909 Transcript | Building Trades Union (Keystone XL)

And you know, I'm already at odds with the most organized and wildest. They come to my rallies and they yell at me and, you know, all the rest of it. They say, 'Will you promise never to take any fossil fuels out of the earth ever again?' No. I won't promise that. Get a life, you know. So I want to get the right balance and that's what I'm [*inaudible*] about– getting all the stakeholders together. Everybody's not going to get everything they want, that's not the way it's supposed to work in a democracy, but everybody needs to listen to each other.

Clinton revealed her dislike for absolutists—her hecklers in particular—in a closed-door meeting with a labor union in September 2015

Lawyers reviewing the Clinton Foundation reported ethical concerns about the charity's fundraising practices

SIMPSON THACHER & BARTLETT LLP

STB DRAFT 12/3/11

PRIVILEGED, PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

December 3, 2011

TO: The Board of Directors of the William J. Clinton Foundation
John Podesta
FROM: Victoria B. Bjorklund
Jennifer I. Reynoso
RE: Governance Review

[…] some interviewees reported conflicts of those raising funds or donors, some of whom may have an expectation of quid pro quo benefits in return for gifts.

incessant messages nonetheless filled the candidate's inbox. And keeping the staff and the family on the same page remained a challenge; at one point Mook asked Clinton how much Bill and Chelsea Clinton really needed to know about internal plans and strategy, lest they second-guess the people in charge.

Second-guessing Clinton was a unifying pastime among aides who were often otherwise split. At times the top voices were, in their words, "at each other's throats" as they competed for influence. They quibbled over such details as the timing of a tweet, how to address the Confederate flag and who had the final say on everything from hashtags to posters. They grumbled about Clinton's penchant for secrecy and, despite decades of experience, her poor skills in handling the media. Mook casually mentioned to Clinton in one memo that she was in need of "media training," despite decades in politics. "I suspect our internal decisionmaking is unremarkable compared to other well-functioning campaigns. Other campaigns just haven't been targeted this way by the Russians," a Clinton aide said, refusing to confirm the messages are authentic.

At her advisers' urging, Clinton often tried to match the hard-line speeches of Bernie Sanders. But in Clinton's closed-door chats with banks and trade associations, she revealed herself to be a pragmatist. She told bankers that she personally liked the Republicans' then House Speaker John Boehner and said it was time for "evidence-based decisions" in government. "You ought to be able to make a deal," she told Goldman Sachs in 2013, according to transcripts circulated by her aides. "I may have my own opinions, but let's have a debate here. That's what we were always good at in the past."

Clinton tends not to hem and haw as much as her husband. Instead, she savors discussions about policy and reads the footnotes in memos. Even as the campaign hit its final month, she was still consulting with anyone who had ideas. There was no shortage of them arriving at headquarters.

If campaigns are preludes to governing, all this suggests—in the event of a Clinton victory—a White House with an adroit dealmaker at the top and a lot of static just below. Ideas will be flowing to and from the Oval Office through a sprawling network of advisers, leading to a pileup on Clinton's desk. That setup made Jimmy Carter a one-term President and forced Bill Clinton to ditch his first chief of staff, a pal since kindergarten who couldn't get the new Commander in Chief to delegate. Wanted: a strong traffic cop. ◻

The battle for Mosul begins

Kurdish forces fire on ISIS positions as they advance on villages east of Mosul, Iraq, on Oct. 17. The offensive to retake the northern city, held by ISIS for more than two years, is being led by Iraqi and Kurdish forces with U.S. air and ground support. With hundreds of thousands of civilians in the city, the cost of the campaign could be dire.

Photograph by Bryan Denton—The New York Times/Redux

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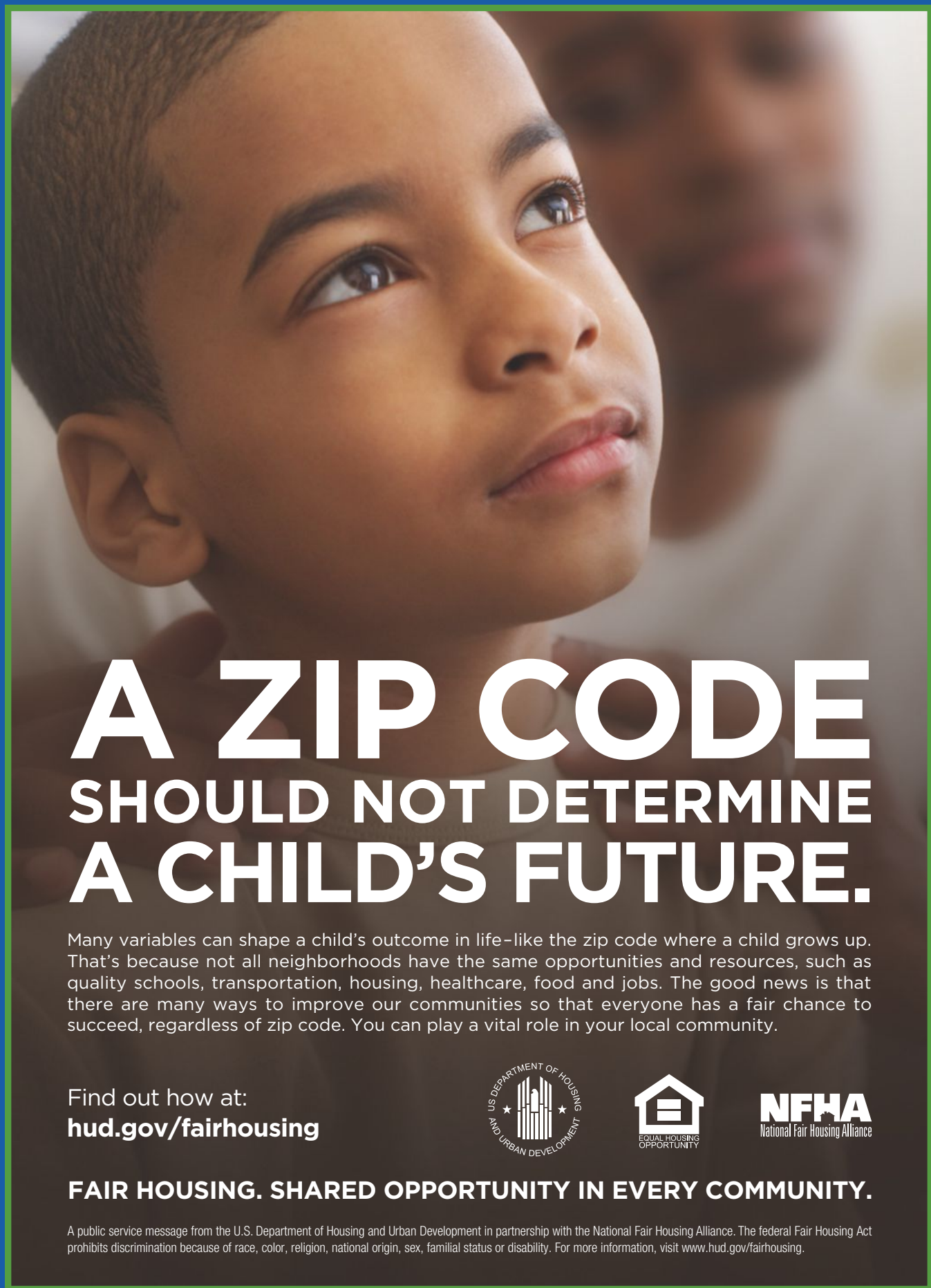


A ZIP CODE SHOULD NOT DETERMINE A CHILD'S FUTURE.

Many variables can shape a child's outcome in life–like the zip code where a child grows up. That's because not all neighborhoods have the same opportunities and resources, such as quality schools, transportation, housing, healthcare, food and jobs. The good news is that there are many ways to improve our communities so that everyone has a fair chance to succeed, regardless of zip code. You can play a vital role in your local community.

Find out how at:
hud.gov/fairhousing

US DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY

NFHA
National Fair Housing Alliance

FAIR HOUSING. SHARED OPPORTUNITY IN EVERY COMMUNITY.

A public service message from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in partnership with the National Fair Housing Alliance. The federal Fair Housing Act prohibits discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, familial status or disability. For more information, visit www.hud.gov/fairhousing.

The View

'WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM GHOST STORIES? MORE THAN YOU'D THINK.' —PAGE 20

In a study involving Fitbit—using a less techy model than the one above—only 10% of people wore it for a year

TECHNOLOGY

Why fitness trackers aren't making us healthier

By Mandy Oaklander

ABOUT FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN THE first generation of wearable fitness trackers became popular, they were heralded as the dawn of a revolution. Health experts and businesspeople alike said that giving people access to real-time calorie-burning and step-count data would inspire them to lose weight, eat better and—most important—exercise more. But even as the U.S. market for wearable devices hits $7 billion this year, there's evidence that their promise isn't quite paying off.

The U.S. has an exercise problem, with 28% of Americans ages 50 and over considered wholly inactive. That means 31 million adults move no more than is necessary to perform the most basic functions of daily life. Wearables, experts hoped, were going to change that. Slap on a fitness tracker, the pitch went, and you'll suddenly find yourself motivated to move more. You'll climb stairs without thinking and take the dog for an extra lap. You may even start having your work meetings while ambulating.

But scant academic research has been done to figure out whether wearables change people's behavior in the long term. The little research that does exist isn't encouraging. For a recent study in the *Journal of the American Medical Association,* researchers wanted to see whether activity trackers would help overweight people lose more weight over two years than if they just did a weight-loss intervention alone. They didn't. "We found that just giving people a device doesn't mean it's going to result in something

PHOTOGRAPH BY DANIELLE AMY STAIF FOR TIME

you think it's going to result in," says John Jakicic, the author of the study, from the University of Pittsburgh. "These activity trackers don't engage people in strategies that make a difference in terms of long-term change."

Another new study highlighted a different challenge: attrition. By the end of a yearlong study of 800 people, just 10% of participants were still wearing the trackers, according to Eric Finkelstein, a professor at the Duke-NUS Medical School in Singapore, who led the effort. "We didn't find that Fitbits really have much of an effect," he says.

This may well be because people expect trackers to do something they're not designed to do—namely, force them to change their behavior. "There's confusion among people about a measurement tool and an intervention," Finkelstein says. A scale counts pounds, for example, but won't teach you how to eat less.

"When people put these devices on, they might interact with the app for the first few weeks, maybe the first few months," says Ryan Martin, a senior analyst at ABI Research. "But there comes a point where that starts to fall off."

To be fair, some of the pricier and higher-tech wearables—not the ones typically used in academic studies, because of their cost—have features baked into them that encourage users to move more, says Shelten Yuen, Fitbit's vice president of research. Among them: vibrating sensors, movement reminders and social-media integration, all designed to motivate users to make better health choices every day. But more research will be needed to determine whether or not these features—or others like them—measurably improve people's health and fitness levels.

In the meantime, there are ways to get more out of most fitness trackers by using them differently, says Catrine Tudor-Locke, a professor and the chair of the department of kinesiology at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, who's been researching fitness trackers for many years. For starters, she suggests, don't change your behavior after taking your wearable out of its box (or dusting off the one in a drawer) and putting it on your body. "Live life as normal for at least three to seven days," she says, "to get a picture of where you're at before you start to track where you're going."

Next, when you do look at your data, check for improvements. Then ask yourself how you changed your routine to cause those improvements, so you can do it again in the future. Once you have a realistic sense of your abilities, it will be easier to commit to a long-term goal. "That dynamic process of monitoring your behavior and tracking it is where we want to go and is the most important learning that comes from this," says Tudor-Locke. "Not the digits themselves." □

VERBATIM

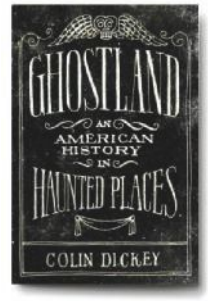
'We have always depended on comedians to make us laugh and tell the truth. I am proud to continue that tradition.'

AMY SCHUMER, comedian, amid reports that roughly 200 people walked out of her show in Tampa after she called Donald Trump, among other things, an "orange, sexual-assaulting, fake-college-starting monster"

BOOK IN BRIEF

The hidden truth in every ghost story

WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM GHOST stories? Maybe more than you'd think: in *Ghostland: An American History in Haunted Places,* Colin Dickey argues that they reveal "the contours of our anxieties" and "the nature of our collective fears and desires." Consider the story of New York City's haunted Merchant's House. It involves the spirit of a spinster who died there in 1933, decades after her father forbade her to marry her only suitor—a narrative that exploits a long-standing social anxiety regarding single women and matrimony. Or the story of the Myrtles Plantation in St. Francisville, La., said to be haunted by the ghost of a young slave who was her master's concubine before he killed her—details that tap into Americans' lingering discomfort with slavery and racism. In many ways, Dickey concludes, "ghost stories … are a way for us to revel in the open wounds of the past while any question of responsibility for that past blurs, then fades away." —SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON

Politician vs. walrus

JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

A data breach you can smell

In an age of constant connectivity, it's hard to know when you're putting data at risk. Not so with the Smell of Data, an experimental product designed by Dutch duo Leanne Wijnsma and Froukje Tan that syncs with smartphones and computers via wi-fi and emits a metallic odor when, for example, users visit an unprotected website or connect to a nonsecure hot spot. The goal, says Wijnsma, was to create a "bad data" alert that's hard to miss, just as the U.S. government requires that a sulfur smell be added to odorless natural gas so people can sniff out leaks. Next up: making it smaller or even wearable.

—Julia Zorthian

SCHUMER: AP; BIG IDEA: SIMONE C. NIQUILLE FOR LEANNE WIJNSMA AND FROUKJE TAN

VIEWPOINT

The social cost of solitary confinement

By Keramet Reiter

ACCORDING TO ESTIMATES FROM FEDERAL agencies, there are tens of thousands of prisoners in solitary confinement—put there not by judges or juries but at the discretion of prison administrators. Often the conditions are extreme: one California prisoner, Todd Ashker, spent more than 20 years in a cell the size of a wheelchair-accessible bathroom stall, with the lights on 24 hours a day.

It's easy to dismiss solitary as just another consequence of committing a crime. But that logic ignores broader costs. First, it's expensive. A year in solitary averages $75,000 per prisoner—about three times the average cost of incarceration. Second, it's dangerous. Isolated prisoners often become psychotic from sensory deprivation. And third, it can be invisible to oversight, enabling abuse. Vaughn Dortch, another California prisoner, publicly alleged that after he had a mental breakdown in solitary, officers dunked him in scalding water, scrubbed him with wire brushes and joked about turning him from a black man into a "white boy." (The prison disputed the charge, but a class action found that it had subjected prisoners to cruel and unusual punishment.)

These conditions aren't bad just for prisoners. They're bad for everyone. Because when a solitary prisoner's criminal sentence expires, he is released directly back into the community, ill prepared to adjust.

Reiter is the author of 23/7: Pelican Bay Prison and the Rise of Long-Term Solitary Confinement

DATA

THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

MORE AMERICAN WOMEN WANT TO HAVE CHILDREN

Fifty percent of American women ages 15 to 44 say they expect to have a child, up 4% from 2002, according to a new report from the National Center for Health Statistics and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

2

IT COULD BE DANGEROUS TO TAKE OUT YOUR ANGER AT THE GYM

A large new study of heart-attack survivors published in the journal *Circulation* found that both heavy physical exertion and being in a negative emotional state could double the risk of having a heart attack within the hour. When people exerted themselves and were angry simultaneously, the risk tripled.

3

MILLENNIALS SPEND ALMOST HALF THEIR FOOD MONEY AT RESTAURANTS

According to a Food Institute analysis of the Department of Agriculture's 2014 expenditure data, millennials spend 44% of their food money—$2,921 per year on average—on eating out, up more than 10% from 2010.

—J.Z.

TIME *TEENS*

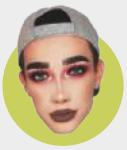
MEET THE CLASS OF 2016

To assemble our third annual list of the world's most influential teens, TIME considered accolades across numerous fields, global impact through social media and overall ability to drive news. Here, a sampling from the full group of 30, available at **time.com/teens2016**

LAURIE HERNANDEZ, 16
THE BUDDING ICON

Growing up, Hernandez rarely saw girls like her at the gym, tearing down the vault run or tackling the balance beam. "There weren't a lot of Hispanic role models," she recalls, "especially in gymnastics." Still, she didn't think much of it—until she became one. Three months after winning Olympic gold alongside her Final Five teammates (and an individual silver), the New Jersey native is emerging as a star in her own right, signing an endorsement deal with Crest and crushing competitors on ABC's *Dancing With the Stars.* But the most meaningful reward, she says, comes during meet-and-greets with fans, particularly those from Hispanic families. "They say, 'You made Latinas proud!' and that hits me hard," says Hernandez. "It helps me realize that I've done something bigger than just gymnastics." Although she turned professional before competing in Rio, the self-proclaimed "human emoji" remains committed to finishing high school and setting an example for her many young fans. "It doesn't matter if you're black, white or Hispanic," she says. "You can do whatever you set your mind to, and no one can tell you not to." —*Alice Park*

Will Hernandez compete in Tokyo 2020? "It would be really nice to . . . do a little Olympic thing there," she has said



JAMES CHARLES, 17
The makeup enthusiast recently made history as CoverGirl's first male spokesmodel. He'll soon appear in TV, print and digital campaigns for the cosmetics titan, both by himself and with brand ambassador Katy Perry.

CHLOE KIM, 16
The Queen of the Snow, as dubbed by *Sports Illustrated,* is the world's most promising teen snowboarder. Earlier this year, she became the first woman ever to land back-to-back 1080s, considered one of the hardest tricks in the sport.

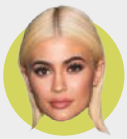
GAVIN GRIMM, 17
The transgender student teamed up with the American Civil Liberties Union to sue his Virginia school district for banning him from the boys' bathroom. The case may soon make it to the Supreme Court, where it could set a national precedent.

MALIA OBAMA, 18
The First Daughter—by virtue of her poise, intellect and general aura of coolness—has become a national role model, especially for the many young black women who praise her on social media using hashtags like #BlackGirlMagic.

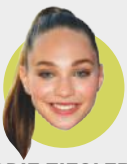
GRIMM: AP; CHARLES: INSTAGRAM; KIRGHIN (2); GOOGLE; HASSAN; ESL; MATUS. STORM SPIRIT; YOUTUBE; HERNANDEZ (2); ZIEGLER. KIM. BILES. OBAMA. JENNER. MENDES; GETTY IMAGES

SIMONE BILES, 19
The native Texan proved she's the best gymnast—and one of the most formidable athletes—in the world, first by winning three consecutive World Championships, then by scoring a record-tying four gold medals in a single Olympics in Rio.

GEORGE MATUS, 19
The entrepreneur runs his own startup, Teal, whose first consumer drone can fly at up to 70 m.p.h., which is notably faster than many of its rivals. The company has already raised $5.8 million in venture capital.



KYLIE JENNER, 19
The reality star remains the most-followed teen on the planet, commanding an audience of more than 90 million across Snapchat, Instagram, Facebook and others. Her empire includes two successful makeup lines, KyShadow and Kylie Lip Kit.



MADDIE ZIEGLER, 14
The Pittsburgh native is best known for dancing as Sia's alter ego on tour and in smash-hit music videos like "Chandelier" and "The Greatest"; this year, she also became the youngest ever judge on *So You Think You Can Dance.*

SUMAIL HASSAN, 17
THE MOST VALUABLE PLAYER

When Hassan was 7, growing up in Karachi, he sold his bike—at a deep discount—to a stranger. He needed some change to play video games at an Internet café. "It was a bad move," says Hassan, with a laugh. Not exactly. Ten years later, Hassan has become the youngest person ever to earn $1 million playing competitive video games, making him a Michael Jordan–like figure in the rapidly growing world of e-sports. (Deloitte estimates that competitive-gaming revenues will hit $500 million this year; high-profile investors in e-sports include Alex Rodriguez and Shaquille O'Neal.) Despite his rising profile, Hassan still puts family first: he recently used some of his prize money—now totaling at least $2.3 million—to buy a house for his parents and five siblings, with whom he moved to the U.S. in 2014. *—Sean Gregory*

Hassan's focus is the online battle game *Dota 2*

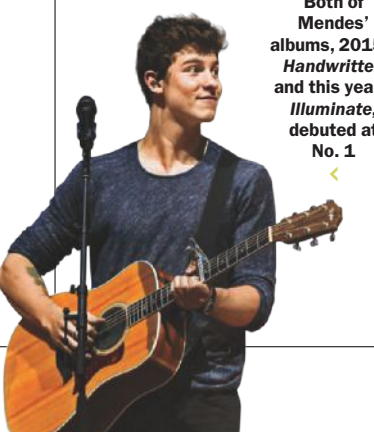
KIARA NIRGHIN, 16
THE SCIENCE WHIZ

How do you keep crops alive during a drought? For Nirghin, who lives in South Africa (which got just 66% of its average rainfall last year), the answer came from an unexpected place: her kitchen. The aspiring scientist had set out to create a superabsorbent polymer (SAP) that could be sprinkled over dirt to make it retain larger quantities of water, much like diapers do. But she wanted it to be cheaper and more eco-friendly than traditional options, which contain chemicals like acrylic acid. So she turned to nature—specifically avocados and oranges, whose peels, Nirghin discovered, can be turned into an SAP by applying a certain amount of UV light and heat. Her experiment won top honors at this year's Google Science Fair ("It was very unexpected—I was so excited," she recalls), and Nirghin says she hopes to develop it for commercial use, so that any country can use it during a dry season.
—Alexandra Sifferlin

Nirghin's orange- and avocado-based polymer can hold more than 300 times its weight in liquid

SHAWN MENDES, 18
THE PRINCE OF POP

A teenage boy from Canada with a soulful voice rises to fame online, buoyed to popularity by an army of ardent fans. Sound familiar? Sure, but unlike Justin Bieber, Mendes isn't known for headline-grabbing antics—he's won praise for being a good influence. "Whenever I have a positive thought," he says, "I'll tweet it out, or put it on Instagram or Snapchat." Although the path from Internet sensation to credible musician isn't always smooth, Mendes has spent the past year conquering the singles charts with hits like "Treat You Better" and "Mercy," and showing off songwriting chops on his second LP, *Illuminate.* But finding his voice as an adult artist is only half the battle. "The challenges keep changing—adapting to the workload, the fame, the pressure," says Mendes. "You just gotta keep yourself grounded." *—Sam Lansky*



Both of Mendes' albums, 2015's *Handwritten* and this year's *Illuminate,* debuted at No. 1

A new look at Greenspan shows the economic perils of trusting oracles

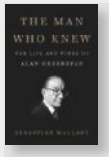
By Rana Foroohar

SEBASTIAN MALLABY'S NEW BIOGRAPHY OF FORMER Federal Reserve chair Alan Greenspan, *The Man Who Knew,* might easily have been titled *The Man Who Knew—And Didn't Act.* The central revelation of the book is that Greenspan, far from being a blind follower of "markets know best" efficiency theory, was well aware that easy monetary policy and soaring stock prices could create bubbles—terribly damaging ones. And yet throughout his tenure, he allowed them to expand, believing them preferable to dramatic government interference in markets. The great irony is that, thanks in large part to Greenspan, central bankers themselves have become the major player in global markets—something that has introduced huge, unknown risks into our economy. Clearly, Greenspan was the man who didn't know quite enough.

GREENSPAN'S LEGACY offers lessons for today's economic problems. First, economics should almost always focus on the empirical over the conceptual. Arguably, Greenspan's biggest insight came when he was deep in the weeds, tallying numbers rather than relying on theoretical models. In the summer of 1996, for instance, the Fed was embroiled in a debate over potentially hiking interest rates to cool an overheating economy. Wages were rising, and the stock market was up 45% over the course of a year. Yet productivity figures seemed oddly weak, given the efficiency gains that businesses were seeing from globalization and new technology.

Solving this conundrum was crucial—if productivity was actually rising, then there was no reason to raise interest rates, since workers making more widgets could be paid more without triggering inflation. Nearly every economics guru at the time, from Larry Summers to Janet Yellen, was worried about inflation. But Greenspan insisted that Fed researchers go back and recalculate the numbers across 155 industries over four decades. The result: Greenspan was right that low productivity in services had skewed the overall rate. It's a lesson that current Fed chair Yellen seems to have taken to heart as she encourages similarly deep data dives.

But Greenspan—and, as a result, the economy—faltered when there was a deficit of data and a surplus of ego. He had many lucky hunches and some policy home runs throughout the 1990s. But the praise and political power that came with those victories ultimately seemed to make him less willing to rock the boat by raising interest rates. Once a staunch opponent of government bailouts (he had been against the bailout of New York City in the 1970s as an adviser to President Ford, a position befitting his early devotion to libertarian philosopher Ayn Rand), he later supported bailouts of emerging markets like Mexico, whose debt was held in part by big U.S. banks—a crucial fact that the book underplays. He dismissed the famous warnings by Commodity Futures Trading Commission chair Brooksley Born on derivatives, believing incorrectly that they weren't as potentially damaging as she thought (turns out, they were). He made sideways references to "irrational exuberance" in the markets by the late 1990s, but backed off acting when they appeared to stabilize. And Greenspan enjoyed his stardom, driving fast cars, dating beautiful women and holding court in Washington.



MAN BEHIND THE CURTAIN

Jazz musician
A young Greenspan toured with a swing band for 16 months playing saxophone and clarinet (and doing his band members' taxes) before enrolling at New York University.

Ladies' man
A bachelor for over 40 years, he dated such powerful women as Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison and Barbara Walters. He married NBC News correspondent Andrea Mitchell in 1997.

TO HIS GREAT CREDIT, when crisis hit in 2008, he issued a mea culpa. Yet oddly, Mallaby, who wrote the book over five years with Greenspan's cooperation while working as a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, writes that it was a mistake for him to do so, since Greenspan never really believed in rational markets.

I disagree. While Greenspan's flaw was less intellectual than moral, the fact that he admitted to making a mistake is one of the turns in his story that redeem him. Many others who played a part in the events leading up to the Great Recession failed to do so. What's more, his admission is an important counterexample in the ongoing fiction of the omniscient central banker (one that Greenspan, who famously cultivated his image, helped craft). The world has come to depend far too much on central bankers' being those "who know." This has helped further politicize the Fed—Donald Trump now argues that the central bank is purposely inflating a bubble to get Hillary Clinton elected—and let politicians off the hook for legislating regulation.

In Greenspan's life story, then, we find a perfectly timed morality play about putting too much faith in oracles—and what happens when even they admit that things have gone wrong. □

Beware the toxic sequel to Donald Trump's flailing presidential campaign

By Joe Klein

DONALD TRUMP WILL PROBABLY LOSE THIS ELECTION, which is good news. Here's the bad news: that loss may be just the beginning of Trump's toxic presence in American political life. Nightmare scenarios are floating through Republican circles. The best cases posit a bitter and continuing Republican civil war between the Trump and "Establishment" factions of the party. The worst cases involve a clean break, a new right-wing populist party, anchored by a Trump-Breitbart-Ailes media empire. The mud generated by this new faction, fed by WikiLeaks and the Russians, could splash across the political spectrum, creating a perpetual fever swamp of conspiracy theories and calls for special prosecutors, crippling a Hillary Clinton presidency. Goth politics may be the new normal.

But: whoa, Joe. American politics is supple and enduring; a two-party system is our natural way. A century ago, populists and progressives threatened to upend the natural order, but their best ideas were assimilated into the existing structure. There were Dixiecrats and Henry Wallace leftists threatening the Democrats in 1948, but Harry Truman prevailed. Cooler heads usually do. Compromises are made. Tectonic transformations may occur, but they happen slowly—the last major one, beginning in the 1960s, moved Southern conservatives out of the Democratic Party. It's probable that Trumpism will be sorted out and sanded down, just like other populist movements. We are not a cataclysmic people. Too much prosperity and stability is at stake.

OR MAYBE NOT. We live in the golden age of marketing. We are a society of postmodern tribes, organized by cable networks: Fox, ESPN, QVC, MTV—you name it. Fortunes are made by the discovery of a new niche. All you need are 10 million devoted viewers and you can make a lot of money. So let's say, for the sake of argument, that Trump wins 50 million votes on Election Day—a losing total, and probably the low end of his expectations. Let's also stipulate that at least half of those voters are reflexive Republicans who will hold their noses and vote for their party's nominee. That leaves up to 25 million hardcore Trumpists as the potential market for a new network. There are reports that Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner is trying to find investors. Trump's campaign orbit—a ridiculous political operation—looks far more plausible as a communications company: Steve Bannon of Breitbart, Roger Ailes and Roger Stone. Even Newt Gingrich is more plausible these days as a performer than as a politician.

And then you have the impending post-Ailes shake-up at Fox News. The Murdoch brothers, Rupert's sons, reportedly want to take the network into a newsier realm, featuring less polarizing stars like Megyn Kelly, Chris Wallace, Bret Baier and Shepard Smith. That would leave a superhighway of market possibilities for a new Trump news, lifestyle, celebrity and reality network, featuring the likes of Sean Hannity, Laura Ingraham and who knows who else? The *Duck Dynasty* crowd? Ultimate fighting? Billy Bush? We've been heading this way for a long time: a fusion of politics and entertainment, a political party that's also a network that's also a reality-TV show.

But what about politics for the rest of us? Is there a potential home for those who take the complexities of democracy seriously? One thing you can safely predict is that the Republican Party's leaders will try to establish their bona fides, and hold on to the Trump crowd, by stomping on Clinton from the moment she declares victory. There is talk of blocking all Supreme Court nominees until the court withers down to a seven-person bench with a conservative majority. There will be tremendous pressure on Paul Ryan not to cooperate with Clinton, even though very real progress can be made on economic and foreign policy. (You can bet that Clinton will be tough on the Russians, and perhaps the Chinese.) There will also be tremendous pressure on Clinton not to cooperate with Ryan. If nothing else, the WikiLeaks emails have exposed Clinton as a natural moderate, which will not please the growing number of socialists in Democratic ranks.

MODERATES IN BOTH PARTIES are at a disadvantage in this new political landscape. The extremists have already won the first round of the marketing battle: moderates are routinely called the Establishment and elitists and globalists rather than sane or reasonable people. A willingness to compromise is seen as a moral deficiency. So yes, Donald Trump may well lose this election, but the forces of political sanity—Democrats and Republicans alike—could find themselves on the defensive when it's over. □

MEDIA MARKET

1.41 million
Average number of Fox News viewers per day in the third quarter of 2016, making the conservative outlet the most watched cable network

84 million
Number of people who watched the first presidential debate on Sept. 26 on 13 different TV channels; Trump's July convention speech, watched by 30 million, edged out Clinton's

Gretchen Carlson's next fight

By Belinda Luscombe

The former Fox News star is taking on sexual harassment.

And she likes to win.

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER HAPAK FOR TIME

WHEN GRETCHEN CARLSON WAS A CUB REPORTER in Virginia in the early '90s, she was returning from a shoot in the TV production truck when the cameraman at the wheel suddenly asked her if she had liked it when he attached a microphone under her shirt. "I was touching your breasts," he noted. Carlson sat bolt upright, then leaned away from him and into the passenger door as far as possible. He continued the one-sided commentary on her breasts all the way to the studio, either not noticing or not caring that his co-worker, only a few months into her first TV job, was repulsed and terrified.

When she got back to her office, the assistant news director's antennae went up. "He knew something was wrong," she says now. "Probably because I was shaking." After he insisted that she spill the beans, she reluctantly recounted what had happened. The cameraman was fired.

Maybe this story sounds like an unfortunate encounter with a creep in a bygone era. But in recent days, it has become clear that it's not an aberration, and hardly history. After a tape surfaced of Donald Trump, the Republican candidate for President, joking about sexual aggression, millions of women, from all points on the political spectrum, joined an Internet movement started by a Canadian writer to discuss not just the assaults they had suffered but also the constant, wearing, workaday nature of sexual harassment, using the hashtag #notokay.

"I think this is happening every single day to women in all walks of life and in all different types of corporations," says Carlson, 50, who has become something of a magnet for letters from women who have lost their jobs after complaining about sexually inappropriate behavior at work. "I've heard from so many women, from Wall Street to a tiny little town in Alabama. It's everywhere."

Indeed, Virginia would not be the last place where Carlson said she was sexually harassed, nor the last time a person subsequently left his job. But the next time—which happened shortly after she was fired from the Fox News Channel—it would get a lot more press. Carlson, who, as was widely reported at the time, has a settlement agreement with Fox News, declined to answer any questions about her former employer or the end of her career there, but had this to say about Trump: "I am saddened by the prevalence of powerful men disrespecting and objectifying women—and getting away with it for years. I am particularly distressed when people in the public eye who influence our culture perpetuate sexism."

If prognosticators had been asked to guess which prominent woman would be the next whistle-blower on the level of sexual harassment that women are still dealing with in 21st century America, Carlson probably wouldn't have made the short list. Until June, the former Miss America made her living poking at political correctness from one of the most conservative news outlets in the country. And she seemed born to the role.

Carlson's childhood babysitter was Michele Bachmann, a former Tea Party favorite. Her family nickname was Sparkles. Her best friend was until recently the president of a company that sells collectible holiday figurines. She opposed Festivus—a joke celebration made up on *Seinfeld*—because it

1999: KRT/NEWSCOM; ALL OTHERS: COURTESY OF GRETCHEN CARLSON

Carlson keeps at it

Friends and colleagues say that Carlson's most distinctive trait is her tenacity, which helped her succeed in violin, the Miss America pageant and broadcast news

1972 Carlson, here age 6, grew up in the "Halloween capital of the world"

1979 By 13, she was performing solos with the Minnesota Orchestra

1988 "Getting myself in shape was the hardest part of winning Miss America," says Carlson

denigrated Christmas. Carlson is not only an actual Sunday-school teacher; she struck writer William Goldman as having the potential to be "the most dedicated Sunday-school teacher in the history of the Western world."

Goldman, the Academy Award–winning screenwriter of *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* and *All the President's Men,* was a Miss America judge the year Carlson won. He was appalled. He had predicted that Miss Piggy, as he called her, had only slightly better chances of winning than he did. He was also strangely prescient, in that a lot of men who were to decide the young Minnesotan's fate would miscalculate her intellect, drive and resilience.

IN PERSON, Carlson is short—5 ft. 3 in.—and it's sometimes hard to tell if she's wincing or smiling. She lives in a stately $5 million house in Greenwich, Conn., with two kids, a husband and an overly friendly nonshedding Lagotto Romagnolo dog who carries a Donald Trump chew toy that says BITE ME. (She claims to also own a Hillary Clinton one, but the dog does not favor it.) The house is hotel-lobby spotless, with manicured lawns, gigantic sectional sofas inside and out, a three-car garage and zero evidence that there is a single unresolved item on the family's to-do list; nothing on the fridge door, no random pile of papers on the kitchen counter, no half-empty cans of Carlson's beverage of choice, Diet Dr Pepper.

She has been married for 19 years to Casey Close, 53, a sports agent who is used to dealing with prodigies; he represents baseball stars Derek Jeter and Clayton Kershaw. The immaculate home, he says, is her doing. "She has the ability to multitask like no other woman I've ever met," he says. "Many of our friends and even family members wonder how we are able to do it." When she was on morning TV, she could go from waking up to being out the door in nine minutes, and that included showering. She advised one of her successors to set three alarm clocks. The couple recently took their annual couples-only vacation, this time to Croatia. It was planned long before June 23, when Carlson was let go from her show *The Real Story With Gretchen Carlson,* but the timing proved fortuitous.

Since leaving Fox, says Carlson, she has been "incredibly busy." Always formidably task-oriented, she now has more flexibility to give a whole afternoon instead of just an hour to a crafts project with her kids, Kaia, 13, and Christian, 11. She attends many more of her daughter's soccer and her son's hockey and baseball games. (He also plays golf, tennis and basketball.) She joined the board of an animal shelter started in memory of a Sandy Hook shooting victim.

But it's clear that Carlson won't stay on the sidelines for long. "When she wants something, she goes and gets it," says Close. "She doesn't wait for it. I think there are people who might want someone as a spouse who's a little less vocal about issues, who maybe takes a more passive role, but I feel lucky to have found her and found that kind of relationship."

She's not afraid to make a racket. That includes before Congress

Carlson has agreed to testify before Congress after the election about forced arbitration, fine print that permits companies to have new employees sign away their rights to litigation and instead agree to settle all employment disputes via arbitration. "A lot of people that I've heard from [about being unfairly dismissed] find themselves in the middle of either legal action or, more likely, forced arbitration," she says. "It is a huge problem. Because it's secret. And it plays into why we think that we've come so far in society and we probably really haven't—because we don't hear about it."

The sponsors of the anti-forced-arbitration laws are Democratic Senators Patrick Leahy and Al Franken. That's the same Al Franken who wrote the best seller *Rush Limbaugh Is a Big Fat Idiot.* Carlson

1988 The "highlight" of that year was meeting President Reagan, she told a student newspaper

1999 The young TV journalist's last stop before joining CBS News was KXAS in Dallas

2016 "Somebody who's constantly keeping me on my toes," says husband Casey Close, "is what I was looking for"

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Carlson on set with her Fox & Friends *colleagues Steve Doocy, left, and Brian Kilmeade in 2008*

brushes off the extreme unlikeliness of these political partners with a joke about how she and Franken are both from Minnesota and were on *Jeopardy!* together. (Franken crushed her.) She has already boned up on some of the legislative history. "The intent of the Supreme Court when they ruled on arbitration was to unclog the courts," she says. "It was not to put issues of discrimination and harassment into covert operations."

Carlson hopes to persuade Congress to take another look at the laws that protect the practice. She says she's also going to think really hard about "what we need to do to change the system so that women feel safe." She is not convinced that human-resources departments are capable of effectively dealing with sexual harassment, or that the millions of dollars corporations spend on training courses is making any difference. "I'm certainly not going to sit here today and say, 'Well, I know how to solve this just because I've experienced it.'"

It's not that Carlson has become a fan of the nanny state; she stresses that parents ought to teach their kids how to treat others. But she thinks corporations have a role to play too. "It also depends on the tone that is set within an organization, because that trickles all the way down," she says. "We need more women in higher roles, because the tone for sexual harassment would no doubt be different."

JUST AS IT WAS NIXON who went to China and the Pharisee Paul who spread the Gospel to the gentiles, Carlson may be the improbable ambassador who can take the issue of sexual harassment beyond the liberal mainstream, a crowd that was already converted by Anita Hill. It doesn't hurt that she's bringing with her old-school values like discipline, hard work and talent. (Those very qualities didn't help Hill.) Her childhood in Anoka, Minn., the Halloween capital of the world, was defined by violin and faith. She grew up in a large Lutheran church, of which her grandfather was the pastor. Her dream was to play piano, but her hands were deemed too small, so she focused on violin. Raised by the Swedish equivalent of a tiger mom—a woman who at the age of 72 took over her husband's car dealership and has, according to Carlson, grown it—the youngster had to practice at least an hour a day from the age of 6, and three hours a day from the age of 10, which left little time for hanging out with friends.

"My parents would say, 'If you just had her focus, with your talent, you would do great,'" says Gary Levinson, now senior principal associate concert master at the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, who often competed in the same violin competitions as Carlson as a teenager. Levinson says the youthful Carlson had an unusual combination of rigor and sentiment, and her particular skill was adding extra oomph to the more romantic pieces. "My vibrato was my weakness," says Carlson. "With romantic pieces I could be a lot more schmaltzy. My wider vibrato fit that."

Discipline and playing to the emotions of the crowd were not the only music-related skills she would find useful in her TV career. She also had to learn how to blend in, because being an A student and violin prodigy does not make for incredible popularity in high school. She likes to tell the story of playing a morning concert with the Minnesota Orchestra when she was 13, then changing out of her gown and going to school for a math test. "The kids at school had no idea where I had been," says Carlson. "I just wanted to be included and get along with everyone. I used to say to my parents, 'I just want to be normal.'"

This aptitude for camouflage would come in handy when, on *Fox & Friends,* the honors graduate of Stanford University would profess the need to look up such terms as *ignoramus* or *czar* when commenting on public policy. She was accused by Jon Stewart on *The Daily Show* of "stashing her IQ in an offshore account." But Carlson claims that she did not dumb

CAROLYN COLE—LOS ANGELES TIMES/GETTY IMAGES

herself down for TV. "Of course I knew what those words were," she says. Feigned ignorance was merely part of her repertoire.

It was while Carlson was studying abroad at Oxford University that her mother, still sore that her daughter had given up her dreams of a career in violin at 17, suggested that she enter the Miss America pageant, which had just announced that 50% of its judgment of a young woman's worth would be based on talent. Carlson is not statuesque, nor, she says, was she very thin. She hadn't been playing much music and had lost some dexterity. Most of the consultants she and her mom hired told her she'd need four years minimum to have a shot. Nevertheless, a year after she entered her local pageant, there she was, Miss America.

Ironically, few things prepped Carlson better for having people diminish and dismiss her as that year in the tiara. "After I became Miss America, I found out overnight that people just automatically don't like you," she says. "It's like your résumé just falls into oblivion and everything you've accomplished in your life has been erased." She suggested to her college newspaper that the negative reaction from her fellow Stanford students might have been jealousy.

The slights she experienced that year still gnaw at her. And she's not one to let things go. The first story in her 2015 memoir *Getting Real* is about Penny Crone, a brash New York City TV reporter who questioned her virginity and intelligence during an early press conference. Carlson never forgot it. Many years later, she saw Crone, a local reporter still, at a sports game. She reintroduced herself, reminded her of their first meeting and observed, "I'm a CBS News correspondent … and you're not." (Crone, now a real estate agent, remembers the news conference but not the confrontation.) Apparently Carlson likes her revenge like other Swedes like their aquavit: icy cold.

After a tour of duty in a few smaller markets, in 2000, Carlson scored a national spot at CBS, where she was eventually promoted to anchor of the Saturday-morning news show. "She was kind of a model employee," says Andrew Heyward, CBS News' president at the time. "She was ambitious in a good way and she was serious. She did not play the beauty-queen card at all." Another Miss America, the woman Carlson handed off to, Debbye Turner Bell (special talent: marimba), worked a few steps down the hall. "She outworked everyone else," says Turner. "The anchors get these big packets of information for every segment. It was dozens and dozens if not in the low hundreds of pages of reading, and I'm sure not one word went unread and digested by Gretchen, because that's just the kind of workhorse she is."

In 2005, she moved to Fox. She says she would do the same thing today, adding, "It was an opportunity to do what I loved, which was a morning show, and do it five days a week. In my mind it was an opportunity to grow." It also meant that she could talk on the air about her beliefs. "My faith is something I don't question," she says. "It's one thing that I don't lay awake at night wondering about."

But she doesn't question her commitment to feminism, which may surprise some. "I've been for women's empowerment my entire life. It's not like it's just happened in the last couple of months," she says. Carlson claims she has often called out discrimination, saying, "I've been very outspoken about it. For decades. I'd tell my mom something that happened at work, and she'd be like, 'Well, why do you have to harp on that all the time?' Then she ended up running a corporation and she called me up and she goes, 'Oh. Now I get it.'"

And Carlson, a registered Independent, is cautiously supportive of some forms of gun control. After the mass shooting of elementary-school kids in nearby Newtown, her daughter, heir to Carlson's musical proficiency, played a benefit concert of classical piano pieces for some of the victims' families. Just weeks before Carlson was fired, she had begun to speak out in favor of an assault-weapons ban on *Real Story*.

Levinson, Carlson's former violin competitor, thinks Carlson should take her settlement money, "buy a Strad and start practicing." So far, though, she hasn't committed. "I haven't picked it up yet," she says. "But it's made its way from the closet to a bench in my room. It's traveled." She can't bear to play at the moment—even if nobody except the babysitter is home—because she is so out of practice.

Elsewhere, she's not afraid to make a racket. That includes before Congress. She's aware that a lot of women who suffer discrimination can't take on the corporations they work for. "These attitudes thrive when good people don't speak up, enablers excuse the hateful or disparaging remarks as funny, and surrogates lie about the culture," she says. Carlson seems to be mulling where her voice is best used. She says she has received several unsolicited calls about TV jobs, and she'd love to go back on the air.

One of the Carlson's first onscreen appearances was on a bloopers show. The setup was to leave the newly minted Miss America alone with a complicated piece of technology—known, in an attempt at jocularity, as the M.I.S.S. America. As the cameras rolled on the purportedly live segment, everyone was mysteriously called away from the set so that the pageant princess had to talk about the contraption alone.

The hope was, no doubt, that she would produce some kind of babbling nonsense, or tears, or expressions of utter terror, or something equally diverting. But she declined to be rattled and, no matter what producers asked her to do, fairly nailed it. The segment is still watchable on YouTube, a cautionary tale for anyone who thinks they've got Carlson pegged. ◻

Carlson likes her revenge like other Swedes like their aquavit: icy cold

The itsy-bitsy, teensy-weensy, tiny fine print that can allow sexual harassment to go unheard

By Elizabeth Dias and Eliana Dockterman

GRETCHEN CARLSON IS BOTH EXTRAORDINARY—in her cultural visibility, in her multimillion-dollar career, in her personal accomplishments—and utterly ordinary. When she filed a lawsuit in July alleging sexual harassment during her tenure at Fox News, she became part of a disturbing statistic: at least 25% of American women say they have experienced sexual harassment in the workplace, according to a 2016 report from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. She also faced an obstacle that blocks an untold lot of them: an arbitration clause in her employment contract.

There is no reliable data on how many Americans have ceded their rights to a court hearing through arbitration clauses; one academic study estimates, using projections based on narrow data sets, that as many as a quarter of nonunionized American workers may be subject to the restrictions. Arbitration clauses are found not only in multimillion-dollar contracts like Carlson's but also in the most mundane hiring materials—form contracts, even employee handbooks—that have been given to employees at Anheuser-Busch or Applebee's or some editors at TIME.

Carlson cleverly navigated her own clause: she sued Roger Ailes, the co-founder, CEO and chairman of Fox, not the company itself. Her suit alleged that Ailes "unlawfully retaliated against Carlson and sabotaged her career because she refused his sexual advances and complained about severe and pervasive sexual harassment." As soon as the case was public, Ailes' lawyers tried to compel it into arbitration, arguing that Carlson had broken the terms of her contract, which stipulated that any legal disputes be brought not in court but in arbitration proceedings. Ailes denied wrongdoing, and he and Carlson agreed on a confidential settlement. "As we've made clear, there's absolutely no room anywhere at our company for behavior that disrespects women or contributes to an uncomfortable work environment," 21st Century Fox said in a statement. "Within hours of the first public complaint raising an issue at Fox News, we commenced an investigation, and less than two weeks after that investigation began, the Chairman and CEO of Fox News departed."

This August, in response to Carlson's case, Democratic U.S. Senators Richard Blumenthal, Al Franken and Dick Durbin wrote to four major arbitration businesses, requesting information on employment disputes and cases involving sexual harassment that have been heard in secret by arbitrators. Questions included how many sexual-harassment lawsuits have been referred to binding arbitration through their organizations, and how many cases involved confidentiality clauses similar to Carlson's, regardless of the cause of action. Three of the four arbitration organizations responded. The American Arbitration Association, one of the largest businesses (and a not-for-profit), noted that its data was not comprehensive and added that only 4% of employment-plan cases in 2014 involved sexual-harassment issues. For Blumenthal, that information was not adequate.

"The responses give us no informative or comprehensive view of how prevalent the problem is," he says. "It could be very substantial with illegal or dangerous activity going unreported or underreported."

Last year, Franken reintroduced the Arbitration Fairness Act (FAA), which would invalidate current arbitration clauses in employment, consumer, civil rights and antitrust claims. Under this measure, a claimant alleging sexual harassment who is subject to an arbitration mandate could not be forced to resolve the dispute that way. This year, Senator Patrick Leahy followed it up with the Restoring Statutory Rights Act, which says no arbitration agreement can make you waive a statutory right.

"Clearly these clauses can be misused, and silence can be a means for abusers to conceal misconduct," says Blumenthal, who refers to Carlson's case as a teaching moment for the nation. "If Ms. Carlson had adhered strictly to the terms of her employment contract, her case would have remained a secret forever."

Arbitration: A form of conflict resolution that operates outside a court of law

ARBITRATION CLAUSES ARE easy to miss—you probably have agreed to one at some point, whether at your job or at your bank. They can be just a few short words, but their impact is vast. These clauses push disputes between parties to a system in which an arbitrator (sometimes a retired judge) is hired to adjudicate the matter. Some contracts prohibit claimants from speaking about the claims, which in harassment cases could leave other victims in the dark. And you don't necessarily have to sign on a dotted line to agree to one—Netflix subscribers agree to arbitration in the terms of use before picking a movie; workers at Macy's and Raymour & Flanigan have sued over arbitration clauses that the companies said they agreed to by virtue of accepting employment at the company. Even at-will employees can be compelled into arbitration through clauses in employee materials.

"You don't necessarily have to have signed anything to be bound by it," says Katherine Stone, a law professor at UCLA. "It might just be in the materials that were given to you when you took the job, the same materials that told you where your parking space is."

25% of American women say they have experienced workplace sexual harassment

Research by Stone and Cornell law professor Alexander Colvin shows that payouts in arbitration are much smaller than the damages plaintiffs might receive in court—so small that lawyers are reluctant to take the cases. Carlson's reported $20 million settlement is far more than most could hope to win—again, because of the confidentiality, statistics are hard to come by, but a 2007 Chicago-wide survey put median sexual-harassment settlements at roughly $30,000; a national study from a researcher at Columbia University in 2006 found employees who take their cases to trial win on average $217,000.

$30,000:
One study's estimate of sexual-harassment settlements in the Chicago area

"Mandatory arbitration clauses in negotiating away the civil rights of an individual are just a bad idea," says Anita Hill, now an antidiscrimination professor at Brandeis University. "What we're talking about here with harassment is a civil rights violation. Our policy is driven from the point of view of the people, the men, who are more powerful and engaging in abusive behavior. Women are skeptical coming forward because they don't trust the procedures."

In 1991, Hill told a Senate committee that Clarence Thomas—the man they were considering confirming to the Supreme Court, who had been her former boss, including at the EEOC—had asked her, "Who has put pubic hair on my Coke?" Thomas was of course confirmed, but Hill's testimony marked a watershed moment for sexual-harassment awareness: the following year, reports of sexual harassment filed with the EEOC shot up from 3,349 to 5,607.

Yet it may actually be getting harder for employees to take sexual-harassment complaints to court. "Anecdotally speaking, the use of arbitration agreements from our perspective is increasing," says Peggy Mastroianni, legal counsel at the EEOC. Many women rationalize that it's not worth the risk to bring cases forward. "The biggest problem in many of these cases is fear of retaliation, fear of more harassment," says Mastroianni. "If they leave their company, usually they want to continue working in the same industry, but they fear they'll be seen as litigious or difficult." As Jean Sternlight, director of the Saltman Center for Conflict Resolution at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, points out, privacy is one benefit of arbitration: an employee dealing with sexual harassment "might prefer to have it handled in a private way, and arbitration could give them that privacy."

Those who do want to file complaints face a series of legal hurdles. Eighty-three percent of those who file sexual-harassment claims with the EEOC are women, some of whom presumably want not only to be free of it and compensated but also to fundamentally change the place where they work. Employers can be liable for quid pro quo sexual harassment perpetrated by supervisors and for supervisors or coworkers who create a hostile work environment—but a 2013 Supreme Court decision narrowed the definition of *supervisor* to someone who can hire, fire or significantly change the responsibilities of the person being harassed.

"When you take a job, you don't think you're going to end up suing your employer," says Stone. "Any employer that is big enough will be advised to put an arbitration clause into their employment materials, and employees will not be able to bring a class-action suit. It'd basically be malpractice not to advise that."

"The EEOC's stance has always been that mandatory arbitration of employment discrimination is bad: the secrecy, the lack of precedent," says the EEOC's Mastroianni. "We litigated this issue in a number of cases that we lost."

THE ARBITRATION SYSTEM has expanded in scope over the past decade, for what many argue are good reasons. Corporations often maintain that circumventing court systems reduces litigation costs, allows more-limited discovery and yields a swifter result for both parties. "Most of the controversy in these employment cases often have to do with, does the employee have a choice?" says Chris Poole, CEO of the arbitration company JAMS. "We don't really have a dog in that fight. All we can do is try to do everything to level the playing field." That includes asking the employer to pay the bulk of the cost of arbitration and allowing the employee to help choose the arbitrator. "Our entire business depends on neutrality," he adds. "It's our religion."

When asked about Ailes' role in the clause in

HILL: O'DELL: GETTY IMAGES; JONES: AP; CARLSON: REDUX

Speaking out

Women who have fought harassment

Catharine A. MacKinnon
1979
Her book made headlines defining sexual harassment as a type of sex discrimination in the workplace.

Anita Hill
1991
During Justice Clarence Thomas' confirmation hearing, she testified he had sexually harassed her during their time at the EEOC.

Paula Jones
1994
Jones accused President Bill Clinton of sexual harassment, which eventually helped give rise to his impeachment. The suit was dismissed, but they settled in 1998 during the appeals process.

Beth Ann Faragher
1998
Faragher claimed her supervisors sexually harassed her and filed suit; the Supreme Court ruled that under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, an employer can be liable for supervisory employees who create a hostile work environment.

Carlson's contract, Susan Estrich, a lawyer for Ailes, says he "does not get into the weeds of contracts." Arbitration clauses, she adds, "have become increasingly standard not just in employment contracts but across the board. My gynecologist was the last of my doctors to require them in order to keep his insurance rates from skyrocketing. The reason doesn't have to do with sexual harassment and secrecy; it's because litigation is so expensive that no one can afford it, and it drives insurance costs through the roof."

Employers have also seen arbitration as a way to cut down on class-action and employment disputes. State and federal rulings are mixed. The Supreme Court provided the means for businesses to prevent class-action suits. Critics say the attempt to stop arbitration's use is a move in support of trial lawyers, who have been large Democratic supporters. "Arbitration denies personal-injury lawyers opportunities to score even more giant contingency fees," American Tort Reform Association spokesman Darren McKinney says. "For years those lawyers have used sympathetic groups—including the elderly, service veterans and crime victims—to press lawmakers for statutory exceptions to the FAA. Having largely failed with Congress, the lawsuit industry has more recently turned its lobbying focus to regulatory agencies and certain state legislatures, where its reliably generous campaign contributions seem to be more appreciated."

But the trend in forcing cases into confidential arbitration cases has troubled many. Carlson, Leahy and Blumenthal are part of a tide. The Obama Administration has tried to curb the arbitration boom without Congress. Last month, a Department of Health and Human Services agency barred nursing homes that receive federal funding from mandating that residents resolve disputes in arbitration. In May, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) proposed a rule to prevent banks and credit-card companies from using arbitration clauses with consumers. In June, the Department of Education proposed to protect students from arbitration clauses buried in enrollment agreements.

On the presidential campaign trail, Hillary Clinton has attacked the use of arbitration clauses. She supported the CFPB's proposed rule in May. In early October, Clinton promised to carry on the Obama Administration's efforts and order agencies "to curb the overuse of harmful forced-arbitration clauses." Donald Trump has been quiet on the issue. Employment contracts for Trump's campaign have included binding arbitration clauses that can turn any disputes over to the American Arbitration Association instead of a court system. A spokesperson for the Clinton campaign said that Clinton campaign contracts do not include arbitration clauses or references.

Even if Clinton wins in November, Democrats will likely not be able to hold a hearing on arbitration unless they win back the Senate, and even then, Republicans are likely to continue to control the House. Change outside of Congress is also difficult given federal case-law trends—the change for nursing homes came after Leahy held regular hearings on the use of arbitration clauses when he chaired the Senate Judiciary Committee.

But Blumenthal and his colleagues are not backing down. "Gretchen Carlson is woman of great courage and moral fiber and personal strength, and hopefully her example will help support legislation to protect others," he says.

THE CONVERSATION AROUND HARASSMENT, sexual assault and sexism has gone from a whisper to a roar—on campuses where women have persuaded the White House to investigate Title IX mishandlings, in war zones where servicewomen appealed to Senators for a new process to adjudicate cases of rape and on social media, where campaigns like the one started by Kelly Oxford have spurred women to share their stories of assault and harassment.

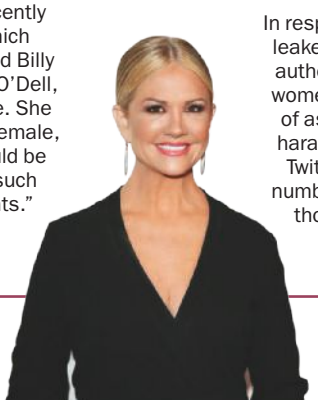
But Carlson's story, and the systemic problems it highlights, underscores the challenges women still face. "I have a hard time reconciling the current climate for women with the progress we've tried to make. But if people thought this was going to be resolved in 25 years of talking about sexual harassment, that's not going to happen," says Hill. "These things are deeply embedded in our brains and baked into the way we do things." ◻

83% of sexual-harassment claims filed with the EEOC are by women

Anucha Browne Sanders
2007
The former New York Knicks executive claimed the team's coach Isiah Thomas sexually harassed her. a jury awarded her $11.6 million from Madison Square Garden and the chairman of its parent company, Cablevision.

Gretchen Carlson
2016
When Fox News did not renew her contract, the television host sued Roger Ailes for sexual harassment, after which other women came forward with similar accusations. Ailes left Fox with a reported $40 million payout..

Nancy O'Dell
2016
A 2005 tape recently surfaced in which Donald Trump and Billy Bush objectified O'Dell, Bush's colleague. She responded, "No female, no person, should be the subject of such crass comments."



Kelly Oxford
2016
In response to the leaked tape, the author solicited women's stories of assault and harassment on Twitter, which numbered in the thousands.

Between Two Worlds

In the absence of a government, Libya has devolved into a brutal marketplace of human lives

By Karl Vick

Photographs by Narciso Contreras

African migrants leave a detention center in Surman, Libya, after the militia that controls it sold them to another group in June

THE GOOD NEWS IS THAT AFRICA HAS PEOPLE who want to work. In fact, according to the International Monetary Fund, by 2035 the number of people reaching working age in Africa will exceed the number in the rest of the world combined. But Africa is not where the jobs are. And so every year, hundreds of thousands of migrants set off across the Sahara toward the promised land of Europe. The journey takes them to Libya, where aspiration verging on desperation meets laissez-faire economics at its most brutal.

Ungoverned except by self-interest, Libya serves as a treacherous bridge from a continent where 43% of the population still lives on less than $1.90 a day. People will pay dearly to leave, but traffickers take more than their money. By the time a young man from, say, Ghana reaches the Mediterranean shore, he has been reduced from a human being to a commodity—and eventually to cargo. The transformation begins somewhere between Agadez, Niger, and Sabha, where smuggling routes converge in Libya's arid center. The journey across the Sahara is made by convoy, with perhaps 1,500 other migrants who may yet maintain a degree of control over their situation. They contracted with a smuggler, but a smuggler is someone paid to help. "It's very important to differentiate between smuggling and trafficking," says Magdalena Mughrabi, an Amnesty International official who has been interviewing migrants for five years about what happens in Libya. "Smuggling, by definition, is consensual."

Before they reach Sabha, the migrants may be free to come and go. But the Libyan city is lawless, with armed gangs fighting for the space left by the 2011

collapse of Muammar Gaddafi's regime. Migrants become captives of people who have, by now, already emptied their pockets. To get more, thugs might produce a mobile phone and dial a migrant's family to demand a ransom as a beating is administered. "The family hears screaming, hears begging," says Mughrabi, "and so they're compelled to pay."

For women, the forced transaction is often sexual assault; many female migrants take contraceptives to at least avoid pregnancy by their rapists.

This is the nightmarish reality that has been described for years from Europe, in numb or outraged tones by migrants who finally arrived there. But it remained largely unseen until the photographer Narciso Contreras penetrated what is now one of Libya's biggest industries. A migrant who has paid passage is a unit of commerce, and he or she is exchanged on a market. When migrants reach the coast—usually in the far northwest of Libya—they wait again, either for a boat or for their sale to another mafia, which may repeat the extortions.

Many end up toiling in Libya for years. And when passage is finally arranged, it is on a barely seaworthy vessel with just enough fuel to reach international waters, where rescue boats from aid groups and Italy's navy scramble to save the lives that have lost their value in Libya's peculiar economy. The rescuers carry the migrants onward to Europe, where they request asylum—and enter a realm of paperwork, jurisprudence and wealth that may, at bottom, operate on the same assumptions of self-interest that have driven everything in the Africans' terrible journey. But by the time they are lifted from the sea, they are, at least, once again human beings.

Clockwise from top left: African migrants on a bus between detention centers; imploring through a cell door; in a warehouse-like detention facility at Zawiyah; upset at being sold to another militia; paid currency confiscated from smugglers; pleading for release

NARCISO CONTRERAS FOR FONDATION CARMIGNAC

Bodies of migrants drowned in the Mediterranean Sea, at a makeshift grave in Abu Kammash, Libya, in June

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Time Off

'ALL THAT'S LEFT FOR HENDRICKS AND THE REST OF THE CUBS ORGANIZATION: BANISHING THAT BILLY-GOAT CURSE.' —PAGE 50

The bond between Little and Juan, played by Hibbert and Ali, grows into trust during a swimming lesson

MOVIES

Moonlight enchants by revealing itself in a thousand facets

By Stephanie Zacharek

YOU CAN'T ALWAYS READ PEOPLE'S hearts just by looking at their faces. There is surprise, and risk, in getting to know who a person really is. To see this high-stakes gamble played out onscreen, like the opening of a flower captured in stop-motion photography, is one of the greatest gifts filmmakers and actors can give us. Barry Jenkins' *Moonlight* is such a calm yet precise piece of filmmaking that you're barely prepared for its shimmering, quietly sensational ending. Adapted from a short theater piece by playwright Tarell Alvin McCraney, this is a coming-of-age movie, and a love story, that leaves you feeling both stripped bare and restored, slightly better prepared to step out and face the world of people around you, with all the confounding challenges they present. There's not much more you can ask from a movie.

Three actors play the lead character during the course of *Moonlight:* a new, marvelous child actor named Alex Hibbert plays Little, an almost incongruously scrawny Miami kid who's picked on mercilessly by his classmates. With these mini punks in pursuit, he dashes into a decrepit drug hangout. A dealer named Juan (Mahershala Ali, in a lustrous, tender performance) plucks him out: Juan is the kind of guy who looks threatening to bad dudes but is radiantly kind to innocents like Little. It's as if he senses all that's both eager and guarded about this kid. Little refuses, at first, to reveal where he lives, but when Juan brings him home for a good meal (Janelle Monáe plays Juan's smart-sassy girlfriend, Teresa), he scoops the

A24

food from plate to mouth almost without taking a breath between bites—it's casual, unstudied generosity he's most hungry for, and he finds it at that table.

Juan returns Little to his mother Paula (the always terrific Naomie Harris) the next morning: their small apartment is tidy enough, yet there's something on the edge about it. Paula isn't the mother Little, or anyone, needs, and adolescence doesn't improve their wary, pinched relationship.

As a teenager (now played by Ashton Sanders), Little becomes known by his real name, Chiron, and he carries a powerhouse of spiritual and emotional energy tight in his wiry body. He's taller and, if possible, even thinner, as if he were stretching toward a manhood he isn't nearly ready for. He's also even more watchful and reserved, as if completely bewildered by the worlds both inside him and out. He still has very few friends, though there is one, Kevin (Jharrel Jerome), who shows him a kind of rough-and-tumble kindness that segues into something deeper and more meaningful, a romantic and sexual reverie that neither kid can quite deal with. This isn't the time nor the place nor the age for it.

> '[Chiron] reminded me of a little cousin, my nephew, he reminded me of my future son.'
>
> **JANELLE MONÁE**, quoted in *Entertainment Weekly* on her role in *Moonlight*

The young men around them are judged by how tough they are, and Chiron doesn't have that kind of fierceness in him: after a few school bullies rough him up and walk off, laughing, he stands like an awkward stork, his hands curling into puny little fists as he watches them go. When he finally summons the nerve to fight back, your heart sinks—but it's also clear there's no other way for him to survive.

As an adult (enter Trevante Rhodes), Chiron, who now goes by the name Black, is barely recognizable—he's beefed up and closed off, the kind of guy who doesn't let anyone mess with him, or get to him. He now lives in Atlanta, and he and his mother are finally brokering some sort of peace. And one day Kevin (now played by André Holland, of *The Knick*) calls him out of the blue. What happens between the two men, as played out by these two extraordinary actors, is so subtle and marvelous to watch that you feel drawn into an invisible but intense embrace. Any defenses you might be hanging on to seem to dissolve along with Black's. The spell this movie casts is that strong.

This is Jenkins' first feature since his 2008 debut *Medicine for Melancholy,* a hypnotic, perceptive film about a young man and woman of color slipping into a tentative relationship in that historically pretty-damn-white city, San Francisco. Many who saw the film, including me, have been waiting for a follow-up. *Moonlight* exceeded my expectations: Jenkins, with his superb eye for detail, can pack a small universe of meaning into just a second or two. When Little comes home from school, his mother nowhere in sight, he runs a bath for himself, adding a generous squirt of dish soap for maximum bubbles. Then he heads to the stove and grasps a pot of hot water—carefully, using a towel to protect his hands—and pours that in too. You don't need to wonder why.

There are hundreds of small, mighty moments in *Moonlight* that add up to something as soft and shimmering as the texture of light on ocean waves: the way Black removes his thug-life gold fronts before he tucks into the meal Kevin—now a short-order cook, a kind of professional caretaker—has prepared for him; or the look, a silent rush of sympathy and anguish, that passes between Juan and Teresa after Little asks what the word *faggot* means. There's something else: we've never seen on-screen depictions of black masculinity like the ones we see here—which blasts open the question of why we keep seeing men of color depicted only in certain ways, over and over again.

You could draw a chart, with arrows crisscrossing every which way, outlining all the issues—of class and race, of sexuality and identity, of having and not having—*Moonlight* touches on. But its incandescence can't be diagrammed. If there's such a thing as diffuse clarity, *that's* what *Moonlight* gives off. ◻

MOVIES

The Joneses tries to shake up the 'hood

AS LONG AS THERE'S SUBURBIA, there will always be movies about near-middle-aged couples reckoning with their dull lives. Greg Mottola's *Keeping Up with the Joneses* gives us a new incarnation of these woebegone creatures, Karen (Isla Fisher) and Jeff (Zach Galifianakis), who live on a street with *maple* in its name and spend Friday nights cozied up with the DVR. Enter new neighbors Tim (Jon Hamm) and Natalie (Gal Gadot), a dashing travel writer and a purring, leggy sophisticate with a food blog. Too perfect to be real, they're actually spies, which is the tiny circular track the movie's jokes run on.

The worn-out gags include one in which Karen and Natalie try on racy lingerie together and another in which Tim takes the meek Jeff to a secret restaurant that serves only snake. Still, at its best *Keeping Up with the Joneses* riffs on something very real: the existential loneliness of living in a place that's just too perfect. Everyone needs new friends now and then—even ones who make you eat snake. —S.Z.

KEEPING UP WITH THE JONESES: 20TH CENTURY FOX

Galifianakis and Fisher, living the plaid-and-cardigan dream

Laurie returns to the hospital for the first time since House, *the series for which he won two Golden Globes*

TELEVISION

Laurie's new healing sleuth takes a dubious *Chance*

"THIS IS ALL SO WEIRD, YOU KNOW? I'M A MEDICAL PROfessional. I'm not some Raymond Chandler character." That's Hugh Laurie, as Dr. Eldon Chance in the new drama *Chance*. It's a cute line, and overwritten. Dr. Chance is indeed a character trapped in ever heightening circumstances; the fact that they don't feel real—to him or to us—is less something fun to acknowledge than a problem that tighter pacing might solve.

Laurie is making his grand comeback—his first ongoing drama series, already greenlighted for two full seasons on the streaming service Hulu, since his last medical drama made him a *House*-hold name. Like so many streaming series, this show unspools lugubriously, secure in the knowledge that couch dwellers will wait for the next one to load. Dr. Chance, a Bay Area forensic neuropsychiatrist drawn from the work of novelist Kem Nunn, diagnoses his patient's ailments and even testifies on their behalf in court, saying they know not what they do. That's fascinating, and Laurie's as delightfully rumpled as ever, but the show's main action—his attraction to a woman (Gretchen Mol) who claims to have an alternate personality and who verifiably is drawn to trouble—is a drag. If Chance is such a genius, having him play out a story whose twists we nongeniuses see coming feels like a waste.

The show is trying to say something about Chance's own attraction to sin—brilliant though he is, he can't help but get involved in what a pulp crime writer might call San Francisco's "seedy underbelly." There's promise that endless stakeouts and punch-outs might give way to more of that insight. But with an imperative to create more content rather than more nuanced content, Hulu is in no rush to get there. —DANIEL D'ADDARIO

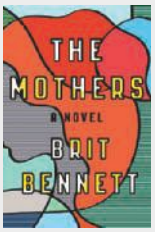
> 'You can know the difference between right and wrong intellectually but still be unable to stop yourself from doing wrong.'
>
> HUGH LAURIE, as Dr. Chance

CHANCE *appears on Wednesdays on Hulu*

CHANCE: HULU; CRAZY EX-GIRLFRIEND: THE CW

TIME PICKS

MOVIES
Jim Jarmusch's rock documentary ***Gimme Danger*** (Oct. 28) delves into the Stooges' pioneering creative process via interviews with Iggy Pop and surviving band members, plus rowdy concert footage.



BOOKS
Brit Bennett's highly anticipated debut novel ***The Mothers*** centers on a trio of young black adults growing up in a California beach town; the book is narrated in part by a chorus of gossipy churchgoers.

MUSIC
On the second album from gutsy Swedish singer-songwriter Tove Lo, ***Lady Wood*** (Oct. 28), she delivers a collection of dark but danceable sex-positive tunes.

TELEVISION
Golden Globe winner Rachel Bloom returns to the CW for a second season of the musical comedy ***Crazy Ex-Girlfriend*** (Oct. 21), starring as a spunky lawyer who's working overtime to win over her ex-boyfriend.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS

This land is our land

By Sarah Begley

NAVIGATING CHILDHOOD and adolescence is challenging enough for any kid, but the process can be particularly rough for immigrant children. School offers a refuge—but also a gantlet of unfamiliar social norms, vexing cultural differences and mean-spirited bullies. These six new books for young readers all provide different windows on the immigrant experience in America, from a Jamaican teen trying to help her family avoid deportation to an Indian boy forging alliances in a New Jersey cafeteria. Taken together, they serve as a reminder that we all once came from somewhere else.

1 *The Sun Is Also a Star*

BY NICOLA YOON

Daniel, an ambitious high school senior whose parents emigrated from South Korea, is determined to get the girl he just met to fall in love with him. The only hitch: Natasha and her family are hours away from being deported to Jamaica, a decade after they arrived in New York City. As Natasha tries desperately to save her family and Daniel faces an admissions interview with a Yale alum, the two realize their fates will be intertwined.

2 *This Is Me: A Story of Who We Are and Where We Came From*

BY JAMIE LEE CURTIS, ILLUSTRATED BY LAURA CORNELL

The actor's picture book reminds kids that almost all of our ancestors were once immigrants—and encourages them to imagine what that experience would have been like and what they would pack on their own one-way trip with a small suitcase: "My signed *Harry Potter*?" speculates one character. "My baby-tooth tin, my aunt's high school class ring, my dad's Navy pin."

3 *Save Me a Seat*

BY SARAH WEEKS AND GITA VARADARAJAN

Joe has lived in New Jersey his whole life. Ravi and his family just moved there from India. While Ravi has a hard time fitting in at his new school (the homemade curry lunches don't help), shy Joe struggles with a bully. The two boys form a bond in the cafeteria and join forces against a shared enemy—boosting each other's confidence along the way.

4 *Teacup*

BY REBECCA YOUNG, ILLUSTRATED BY MATT OTTLEY

This abstract story follows "a boy who had to leave his home ... and find another," carrying with him a teacup full of dirt from the place where he used to play. As he floats to sea in a rowboat, older readers will be reminded of the kids facing similarly perilous journeys around the world—and get a sense of the bravery and loneliness that come with having to leave your homeland.

5 *Making Friends With Billy Wong*

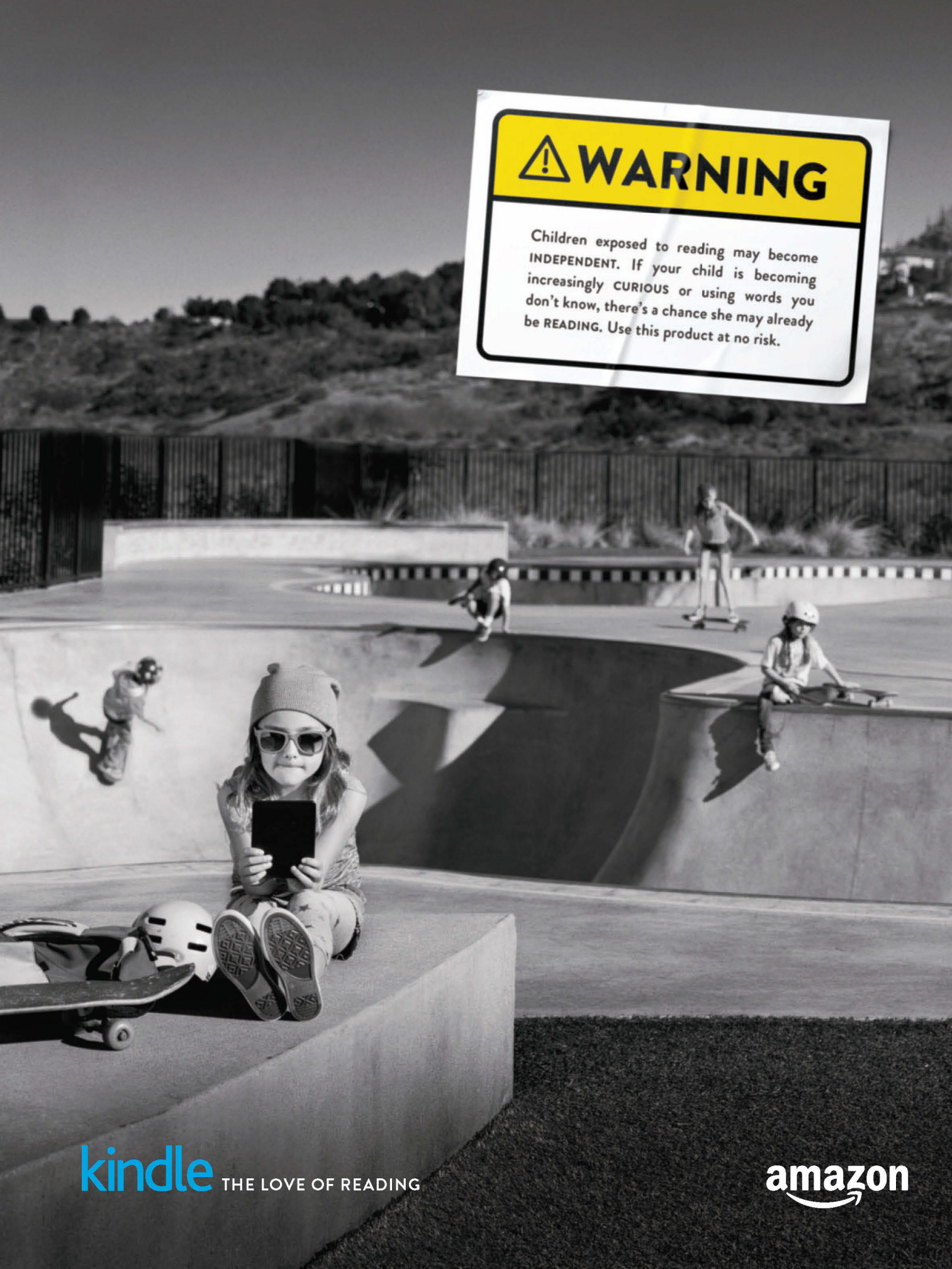
BY AUGUSTA SCATTERGOOD

In 1950s Arkansas, Azalea doesn't expect to make any friends while spending the summer with her grandma. But then she meets Billy, a Chinese-American boy staying with his relatives, part of a wave of Asian immigrants who opened grocery stores in the Jim Crow South. At first Azalea doesn't think they'll have anything in common, but that changes when she sees the way Billy's kindness and hard work are met with prejudice and bigotry.

6 *Refuge*

BY ANNE BOOTH, ILLUSTRATED BY SAM USHER

A camel narrates this story of Mary and Joseph fleeing from Bethlehem to Egypt with the baby Jesus after they learn King Herod will seek to kill the infant. Coming just before the Christmas season, it's a moving reminder that this was a family of immigrants and refugees, journeying "under starlight, through empty streets, while people were sleeping, hoping for the kindness of strangers. Again."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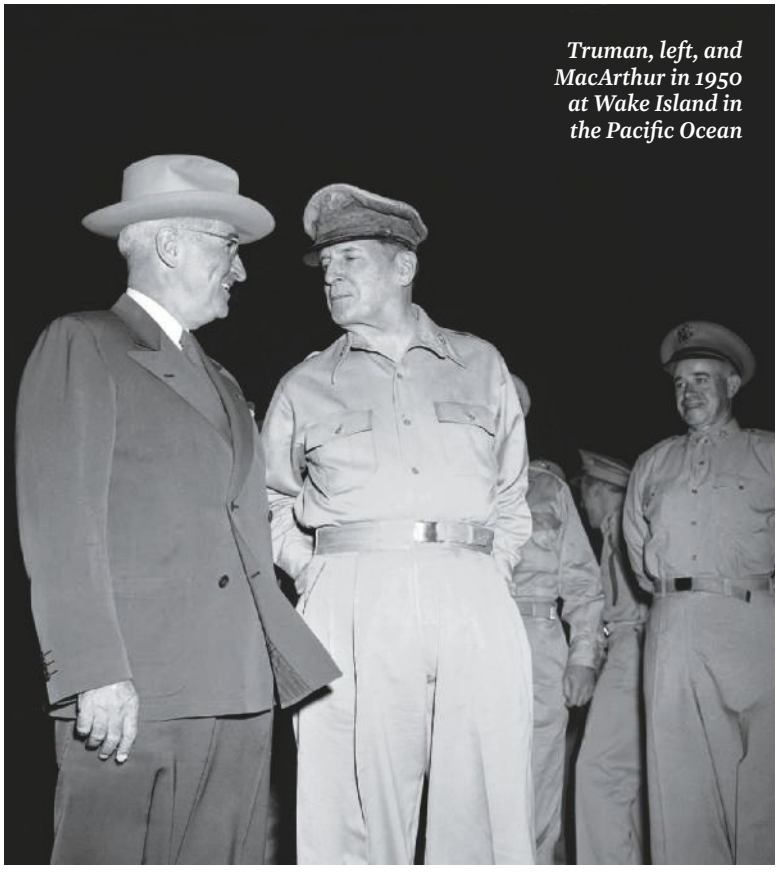


Truman, left, and MacArthur in 1950 at Wake Island in the Pacific Ocean

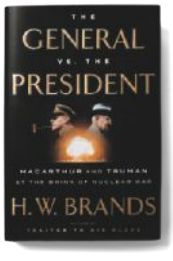
BOOKS

Even headstrong generals must answer to someone

By Michael Duffy

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR CERTAINLY HAD A WAY with Commanders in Chief. Long before he ran afoul of Harry Truman near the end of the Korean War, the self-glorifying Army general was ignoring the orders of President Herbert Hoover. As a young Army chief of staff in 1932, MacArthur, against the explicit instructions of Hoover, took it upon himself to not just disperse a crowd as Hoover had asked but also completely clear Washington of the ragtag "bonus army," penniless World War I veterans (and their wives and children) who had camped on the banks of the Anacostia River while pleading with Congress to pay out their military benefits early.

What should have been a minor test of crowd control turned, in MacArthur's hands, into a fiasco. Several hundred troops under Mac's command torched the camp, killing an infant and bayoneting a boy who was chasing a rabbit. Photographers caught it all. The public recoiled in horror, and Hoover's shot at re-election, never great to begin with, vanished. In a conversation with Felix Frankfurter, Hoover's opponent said he spied his chance in MacArthur's overreach. "Well, Felix," Franklin Roosevelt said, "this will elect me." The incident may help explain why FDR later mused that MacArthur was the most dangerous man in America.



That truth would not be universally acknowledged until the early 1950s, when MacArthur, then supreme commander of the allied forces in Korea, ignored Truman's clearly stated war aims and took it upon himself to campaign for a preemptive invasion of "Red China," as the People's Republic of China was called in those days. Such a scheme was suicidal, not to mention unnecessary, but those facts did not deter MacArthur from pressing the cause for nearly a year. Even after being warned by just about everyone to pipe down, the general kept at it, convinced he was better equipped to decide such things than the civilians who then, as now, are elected to run the military. So Truman relieved him. "Military commanders must be governed by the politics and directives issued to them," Truman said. It is a lesson that still reverberates in the Pentagon.

All this is finely explained and explored in H.W. Brands' new book, *The General vs. the President: MacArthur and Truman at the Brink of Nuclear War.* He spikes the shadowboxing between the two men with vivid dispatches from the battlefield that give his tale a get-along kick. The volume is timely too, and not only because the U.S. still has more than 28,000 troops in South Korea more than 60 years after the conflict. No matter whether Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump is sworn in on Jan. 20, a nuclear-capable North Korea will be the most vexing foreign policy problem awaiting the winner when the Inauguration parade ends.

Brands, a prodigious author and history professor at the University of Texas at Austin, allows neither man to get away clean. MacArthur is revealed to be charming, fearless—and terrifying. Even after Truman dethrones him, MacArthur tries to sell President-elect Dwight Eisenhower on a plan to halt the communists by spreading nuclear-waste products across the Korean Peninsula. (Eisenhower, who in one of history's wonderful coincidences had worked as MacArthur's adjutant during the disastrous Battle of Anacostia 20 years earlier, knew where to file that idea.) Truman, meanwhile, comes off as a more hesitant, uneven Commander in Chief than his popular myth suggests. It takes Truman far too long to dump MacArthur, but it's hard not to root for the former Kansas City haberdasher, whose years as an artilleryman in WW I taught him that everyone has to follow orders sometimes. Including generals. ☐

TRUMAN AND MACARTHUR: AP

WFP/Alexis Masciarelli

HURRICANE MATTHEW

As it tore through Haiti and Cuba, Hurricane Matthew claimed hundreds of lives and destroyed thousands of crops and farms.

The World Food Programme is supporting the Government of Haiti to provide emergency food to 800,000 people in the regions battered by the hurricane. We need your help to continue providing life-saving assistance in the coming months.

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The Chicago Cubs and their unlikely ace could make history

By Sean Gregory

ON A LATE SEPTEMBER AFTERNOON, JUST BEFORE PITCHER Kyle Hendricks will take the mound against the Pittsburgh Pirates, a handful of Chicago Cubs players and coaches are huddled around a table in the visitors' locker room, all trying to help. That night, the Cubs will count on Hendricks to clinch the team's 100th victory of the season and propel them into the playoffs as the hottest team in the game—and a trendy pick to win their first World Series since 1908. But first, the brain trust needs to map out the game plan.

Seven laptops and two oversize monitors are laid out in front of them. Mike Borzello, the team's catching instructor, chats with scout Tommy Hottovy, informally known as Chicago's "run-prevention coordinator," or the guy tasked with figuring out how to make the pitching and defense better. It's Borzello's job, working alongside pitching coach Chris Bosio, to prepare reports on each of the hitters Hendricks could face that night, outlining their tendencies during different phases of a given at-bat. Willson Contreras, who'll be catching the game, pulls up video from a matchup earlier in the season of a Pirates player launching a home run off Hendricks. Soon he'll meet with Borzello and Hendricks to go through the Pittsburgh lineup batter by batter, strategizing their approach to each. Presumably he won't be calling that pitch.

> 'Kyle's the perfect example of a guy who's taken the information to another level. He's always thinking about his game.'
>
> **CHRIS BOSIO**, Cubs pitching coach, on Kyle Hendricks

All this preparation, and collaboration, pays off. Hendricks throws six shutout innings in a 12-2 Cubs victory. It's another stellar outing for Hendricks, 26, who has defied convention all year. After beginning the season as the last starter in the Cubs rotation, the soft-throwing Dartmouth graduate whom teammates call the Professor has blossomed into one of the best pitchers in baseball. He finished the regular season with the lowest earned run average (ERA) in the majors—the first time a Cubs player has done so since 1938—cementing his transformation from afterthought to Cy Young Award candidate. Hendricks has continued to impress in the playoffs, helping the Cubs knock out the San Francisco Giants before dropping a pitcher's duel to Clayton Kershaw of the Los Angeles Dodgers, 1-0, in Game 2 of the National League Championship Series.

Chicago's defense has been stellar, and its lineup boasts two MVP candidates in third baseman Kris Bryant and first baseman Anthony Rizzo. But the team's starting pitching has been its anchor. Jon Lester won 19 games this season and finished with the second lowest ERA in baseball. Jake Arrieta, the 2015 National League Cy Young winner, threw a

Mike Borzello

catching coach

Borzello, called the "brain trust" by one Chicago staff member, uses data to write detailed scouting reports for Hendricks.

Chris Bosio

pitching coach

A major-league pitcher for 11 years, Bosio now oversees the game plan, and makes sure Hendricks' mechanics stay consistent.

Willson Contreras

catcher and outfielder

Contreras' strong bat and infectious energy helped lift the Cubs to the top of the standings and keep Hendricks in the Cy Young conversation. Before games, the rookie studies film of batters.

KYLE HENDRICKS
Joe Maddon
manager
The veteran field boss keeps things loose—team road trips have theme wardrobes like short shorts. He gave Hendricks a key pep talk when he struggled last season.
Miguel Montero
catcher
A two-time All-Star who's played in the big leagues for 11 seasons, Montero knows how to challenge his pitchers. The veteran has built confidence in Hendricks.

no-hitter earlier this season. Yet even in this group, Hendricks stands out. A throwback in an era of power pitching, Hendricks succeeds with precision and guile, mixing his pitches—an elite changeup, a curveball, a sinker and a fastball that typically tops out at just 90 m.p.h.—to keep batters guessing.

Since Hendricks can't overpower hitters, he needs to outsmart them. And that's where the locker-room commando squad comes in. Only a dedicated team of behind-the-scenes tinkerers, working with a willing student like Hendricks, could engineer the unlikeliest story of this baseball season and maybe, just maybe, bring a world championship to Chicago's North Side for the first time since Teddy Roosevelt was President. "It's pretty special," says Hendricks. "It's a testament to a lot of the help I've received, honestly."

HENDRICKS GREW UP in San Juan Capistrano, Calif., the son of a golf pro (dad John) and a medical-management consultant (mom Ann Marie). After three years in the Ivy League and three more in the minors, Hendricks reached the big leagues with the Cubs in 2014. He finished his rookie season with an impressive 2.46 ERA. Last year, however, his ERA ballooned to 5.15 after seven starts. To Cubs manager Joe Maddon, the problem wasn't talent. "You could see in his face, he was lacking self-confidence a little bit," says Maddon, a veteran skipper known for keeping his teams loose. "And he needs his confidence to be able to execute his pitches."

The ego of a major-league pitcher is a delicate thing. The position demands someone with the confidence to stand alone, on a mound in the middle of a stadium filled with tens of thousands of fans, and stare down the best hitters in the world—and the ability to do it all over again after one of those hitters blasts his pitch over the outfield wall.

Maddon is a master of unconventional motivation. This season he set up a strobe-light-equipped party room in Wrigley Field so the Cubs could celebrate home wins and wore a T-shirt reading TRY NOT TO SUCK-TOBER to let off some of the pressure on his heavily favored charges. But he sensed that Hendricks needed something more

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY MATT HERRING FOR TIME

basic. "He kept telling me. 'Hey, just be you,'" Hendricks says of their pep talks. "'Do your thing.' He never wavered." Neither did Hendricks, who finished 2015 with a respectable 3.95 ERA.

The skipper's faith wasn't the only thing that sparked his turnaround. No pitcher can succeed without a catcher calling the right game, and Hendricks also credits his battery mates for his emergence. "It's very hard to go back and retrieve all the information and make in-game adjustments on your own," he says. "That's where the catchers come in."

Contreras, who was called up from the minors in June, and Miguel Montero, an 11-year veteran, have caught all but four of Hendricks' starts this year. Contreras is the young spark plug, while Montero plays the sage, pulling Hendricks aside for one-on-one tactical sessions. "We have to manage so many different personalities," Montero says of the catcher's unofficial role as dugout shrink. "We have to know how to talk to each different guy. Because they're not all the same."

MEETING OF THE MINDS
Hendricks, with glove on chin, talks strategy with catcher Contreras, pitching coach Bosio, right, and the Cubs infield

BACK IN PITTSBURGH, two weeks before the Cubs would go on to win the National League Division Series, Hendricks is facing his tightest spot of the game: bottom of the sixth inning, bases loaded, two outs. If Hendricks can preserve the shutout, it would push his ERA below 2.00 and keep him squarely in the Cy Young mix.

Bosio, Chicago's pitching coach, approaches the mound. The scouting report says to open with a "hip shot"—a ball that starts in on left-handed hitters before breaking back toward the plate. Toss the game plan, Bosio tells Hendricks. The hitter's probably expecting the inside pitch. Hendricks follows Bosio's advice and gets the batter to line out to left field, ending the inning and keeping the shutout intact.

Good pitching coaches can make a career. Part boss, part mentor, part psychologist, they're the ones tasked with keeping all those delicate egos from crumbling. Their value has been clear since the early 20th century, when "Uncle" Wilbert Robinson, a former Baltimore Orioles catcher, helped revive the career of disappointing New York Giants hurler Rube Marquard, according to *The Pitcher,* co-written by official MLB historian John Thorn. Known as "the $11,000 lemon," Marquard languished in 1909 and 1910; after working with Robinson, he became a Hall of Famer. In the 1950s, as pitching staffs added more relievers, teams started hiring specialized coaches to work solely with pitchers. "The best coaches aren't going to listen to your bullsh-t," says Ron Darling, a TBS analyst and former big-league pitcher who played for two of the all-time best, Mel Stottlemyre and Dave Duncan.

Bosio, a big-league pitcher for 11 years, may well have saved Hendricks. At the start of last season, as Hendricks labored through a series of bad outings, Bosio noticed that he was dragging his arm too far behind his body during his delivery. So he and Hendricks set out to repair the problem, relearning the correct motion. "It's not that easy once you start having bad habits to just fix it and get right back to your mode," says Hendricks. "It took a lot of work between Bos and I coming out early, working on drills and getting me back in line."

Before every series, Bosio holds a meeting with the entire pitching staff to review the hitters' tendencies. Before each game, Borzello, the starting catcher and the starting pitcher powwow to brush up on the scouting report. "This is something we've started to do in the last couple of years, because the information can be lost," says Bosio. Even between innings, the pitcher and catcher will consult with Bosio or Borzello to drill the data home.

Helpful information, sure. But data is only as good as a player's ability to utilize it. And few have done that better than Hendricks. "Kyle's the perfect example of a guy who's taken the information to another level," says Bosio. "It's a pleasure coming out and seeing that little smirky, professor-like smile on his face. I know he's always thinking about his game."

All that's left for Hendricks and the rest of the Cubs organization is banishing that billy-goat curse once and for all. "We as a group have had some really tough times," says Bosio, whose pitching lost nearly 100 games just three seasons ago. "Right now, it's the best time of our lives. And to a man, we're not done. And Kyle's leading the charge." ◻

CHICAGO CUBS: GETTY IMAGES (7); BASEBALL: ALAMY

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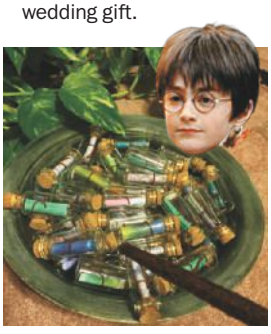
Domino's is now **delivering pizza by canoe** to residents living along the River Loose in England. The pizza "buoys" will wear wet suits and carry boxes equipped with their own flotation devices.

President Obama shared a **list of his must-watch sci-fi films and TV shows.** Among them: *Star Trek, The Martian* and *Cosmos.*

A man gave his ***Harry Potter*–obsessed wife a homemade Pensieve**—the magical device that preserves memories—as a wedding gift.



A Reddit user claimed that he successfully proved he was old enough to buy beer by **showing his vintage Blockbuster membership card** instead of an official ID.

Lego introduced a **Beatles-themed Yellow Submarine set** that includes mini figures representing John, Paul, George and Ringo.

America's hottest new Halloween trend: carving **pumpkins inspired by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton.**

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON** **LOVE IT / LEAVE IT** **WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Authorities became aware that roughly 200 venomous cobras had **escaped from a local farm** in Nanjing, China, causing widespread panic; most were eventually recovered.

Jeopardy! host Alex Trebek **called a contestant a "loser"** after she described her love of nerdcore, a genre of hip-hop about so-called nerdy topics such as science and politics.

During a charity concert in Brooklyn, Beyoncé's extra-long braid **got caught on her earring and ripped it out,** leaving her ear bleeding. The singer didn't miss a beat, though.

Donald Trump, who hosted *Saturday Night Live* last November, **tweeted that NBC should cancel the show** because he does not like being spoofed by Alec Baldwin.

Donald J. Trump
@realDonaldTrump
Follow
Watched Saturday Night Live hit job on me.Time to retire the boring and unfunny show. Alec Baldwin portrayal stinks. Media rigging election!
18,557
52,402
4:14 AM - 16 Oct 2016

Nordstrom stopped selling **Moschino's new pill-bottle-shaped handbags** after protesters suggested they made light of drug use and addiction.

LEGO: DOMINO'S: AP; PENSIEVE: IMGUR; THE PUMPKIN GEEK: HANDBAG: NORDSTROM; TRUMP: TWITTER: BALDWIN: NBC; COSMOS: STAR TREK: THE MARTIAN: HARRY POTTER: EVERETT: OBAMA: BLOCKBUSTER: BEYONCÉ: TREBEK: COBRA: GETTY IMAGES

By Raisa Bruner, Cady Lang and Megan McCluskey

This is the most enlightening election in more than a century and here's why

By Joel Stein

SURE, IT FEELS LIKE THIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ISN'T about issues and is instead a barrage of insults, anger and ugly revelations. But as anyone who has ever been in a romantic relationship can attest, a barrage of insults, anger and ugly revelations is how you know you're talking about issues. When you're having a calm, rational discussion, one person is talking and the other is thinking about what there is in the house to eat.

Past presidential elections have focused on issues like how to structure the income tax, which I don't know the answer to, since I'm not an economist. Or what the best health care system is, which I don't know because I don't even know what someone who studies health care is called. Or how to handle Vladimir Putin, which I don't know because I am not a former rhythmic gymnast. But this time we're addressing core issues that divide us: racism, sexual assault, Islamophobia, immigration, elitism, anti-Semitism, authoritarianism and whether to require drug tests before political debates.

THE HISTORIAN Douglas Brinkley, to my surprise, agreed that this election cycle was more substantive than others. "This has been a hellbroth of stew that's been tacky and tawdry, but the reason a lot is coming out is because we've been avoiding the big conversations," he said when I called to talk about the election. Now, he said, we're discussing what our culture should be like, how unfiltered we want to be, if we want to engage other countries and whether our institutions are trustworthy. I asked Brinkley when the last presidential election was where we had such a blunt discussion. "Before the Civil War, everyone was trying to make compromises on slavery and not talk about it. When Lincoln was elected, all the issues came to a head," he said. Then we began the healing process of airing our disagreements, and 2.5% of the population was killed.

Brinkley and I both thought this election has done a lot of good for minorities, women and immigrants by making their plights more obvious. The only hole in my argument was that I had confirmed my theory with a white dude. So I cautiously ran my thesis by Representative Keith Ellison, who is black and the first Muslim elected to Congress. But he totally agreed. "This is about who is included in our nation," said Ellison, a Democrat from Minnesota. "There's got to be a reason why no matter what Trump does, he doesn't lose support." He argued that because non-college-educated white men are losing power, they have no faith in government, corporations or the media, which they see as dismantling white European culture. Although, based on this, it is weird that they aren't huge supporters of U.S. symphonies.

Emily May, who co-founded the anti-sexual-harassment campaign Hollaback!, also thought I had a point. She explained that one strategy in social change is polarization, where you create heated moments that force people to choose a side. "This election has created a lot of those moments," she said. "The good thing is that, for the most part, people have jumped off the fence and into the direction of progress." Others have jumped off the fence toward progress and condemned anti-progress while still officially endorsing it.

UNFORTUNATELY, May then brought up a flaw in my thesis. The election, she said, has mobilized and empowered white supremacists and misogynists. Women and minorities have told her they feel less safe now, she said, adding, "What we're seeing is a massive cultural campaign to say, 'Look, it's fine that we talk like this. It's even fine that we touch women like this.' The fear is that it seeds that machine. It's not like all of a sudden everyone is going to turn into a rapist, but it bumps everyone up that chain." Talking to Brinkley about Civil War casualties was much more soothing.

Still, even if we don't know the results of these disagreements, May agreed that we were finally discussing issues that are important. "You can't win these major social battles without having a massive public conversation and having people say and do things deeply hurtful to others," she said. "It's good that we aren't keeping all this stuff below the surface. But it is hard." Then she had to go to the airport to pick up her dad, who was visiting. He's voting for Trump, and she's not talking to him about it. Although she might not have a choice if he reads this. It'll be good for them. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

Gabrielle Union The *Birth of a Nation* actor on sexual assault, raising black sons and moving to Chicago with her NBA-star husband

Esther, your character in *The Birth of a Nation*, doesn't have any lines, but you convey her suffering so powerfully. I've been asked, "Should you separate the art from the artist?" I've implored people to not separate my art from this artist because that's my life. Unfortunately, life gave me all the preparation I needed. Much of my journey as a rape survivor has been in the shadows. The posttraumatic stress is like being locked in this excruciatingly joyless place. I hope people see Gabrielle Union, rape survivor, as the same person as Esther, because we are the same.

With women speaking out against Bill Cosby and Roger Ailes (who have been accused of sexual assault and harassment, respectively), does it feel like there's been a cultural shift? Women have been coming forward for years, and we just haven't been believed. Now we have so many more avenues to get our stories out. But sexual harassment in the workplace is as old as time. We were just discouraged from coming forward. There's a reason sexual assault is the most underreported crime in the world. I'm sure Anita Hill is like, "Damn it, I've been telling you!"

What was your reaction to Donald Trump's *Access Hollywood* tapes? It's infuriating that the tapes were sat on for 11 years. Trump has been in charge of thousands of employees for decades, and the fact that no one felt the need to protect half his workforce I find unconscionable. I guess they thought the success of *The Apprentice* was more important than protecting women.

You've talked about fearing for the safety of your stepsons in a society that criminalizes black skin. They go to school and it's reinforced: the police are your friends if you just pull your pants up and use correct English. Then life slaps them in the face and says, No, there's no way to price yourself out of racism. It sucks to have to tell your kids that it's not enough to be an upstanding citizen and do everything that a police officer or neighbor is telling you. We're not giving our kids logical answers because there is no logical answer.

Is it true that your husband Dwyane Wade banned you from sitting courtside because of your colorful commentary? It was a joke that has taken on a life of its own. He's never banned me. A lot of times, I'm yelling what he's thinking. But now that we're in Chicago, these people don't know us well. My goal is to be a little more reserved.

With your breach-of-contract lawsuit against BET pending, are you concerned for the future of your show, *Being Mary Jane*? I believe in the show more than ever. We just have some business stuff to work out [so it's] fair and equitable to everybody. The show is going to continue and it's actually really, really juicy.

> 'I want to be 65, smoking a hookah with a crop top on, traveling the world.'

Are there projects you're interested in developing as a producer? I'm always on the lookout. Usually someone like Lupita [Nyong'o] has beaten me to the punch. Literally the last two things I called about, they were like, "Lupita got it." But great minds think alike.

You've been in this business for 20 years. What are your hopes for the next 20? To redefine *bombshell* in my 60s. Helen Mirren beat me to it, but I want to be 65, smoking a hookah with a crop top on, traveling the world, redefining what it is to be a valued voice as a black woman, as an older woman. I'm over 40 and I've never had this many opportunities. What's next? And who can I bring with me? —ELIZA BERMAN

JEMAL COUNTESS—GETTY IMAGES

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